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Mideast Ministers Speak at Paris Conference

LD1001220389 Moscow TASS in English 1637 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Paris January 10 TASS—TASS correspondents Yuriy Lopatin and Nikita Yermakov report:

Ways of achieving chemical disarmament, lessening international tension and strengthening peace are being discussed at the International Conference on Chemical Weapons which is underway at the UNESCO Palace.

Syria believes that this is the meaning of the present international forum which is promoting the realization of the years-long desire of nations—the banning of mass destruction weapons, said Faruq al-Shar', Syrian foreign minister. At the same time, he expressed concern over Israel's buildup of its mass destruction weapons, specifically, nuclear and chemical ones, which creates a threat to other Middle East countries. Arab and African countries that signed the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and other documents cannot defend themselves against the armaments that Israel and South Africa have in their possession.

The Syrian minister denounced a pressure campaign by the United States against Libya and, following a number of other Arab countries, said that the call for the elimination of chemical weapons should go together with the call for the elimination of other mass destruction weapons.

Jadallah 'Azzuz al-Talhi, Libyan secretary of the Bureau for external relations, also spoke out in favour of a complete ban on chemical weapons from which Libya had suffered in the past. He pointed out that the presence of mass destruction weapons, primarily nuclear ones, in Israel which enjoys U.S. support posed a threat to Middle East and African countries. Moshe Arens, Israeli foreign minister, who also spoke at the conference emphasised the need for toughening control over the export of chemicals and dual-purpose equipment and suggested that the Middle East be turned into a zone free from nuclear weapons.

In the process of the implementation of disarmament measures, a complete ban and the elimination of chemical weapons have a significance of their own, Petur Mladenov, Bulgarian foreign minister, pointed out. He said that the prospect of the elimination of a whole class of mass destruction weapons—of chemical weapons—was consonant with the hopes, appeals and aspirations of the world public. The concluding of a convention on banning the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, as well as on their destruction, is the principal way towards attaining this goal. He expressed confidence that chemical disarmament in a short period of time, before the year 2000, was a reasonable and realistic target. The Bulgarian foreign minister and Ioan Totu, his Romanian counterpart, spoke out in favour of turning the Balkan peninsula into a zone free from chemical weapons.

Touching upon the situation in the Mediterranean region, the Romanian foreign minister pointed out that the recent incident showed how dangerous the naval presence in international waters was for peace and security and urged to withdraw them.

Jaromir Johannes, Czechoslovak foreign minister, spoke about the turning of central Europe into a zone free from chemical weapons. He said that Czechoslovakia was ready to immediately take part in its solution, including through the implementation of corresponding control measures. Our country which possesses neither chemical weapons nor capacities for their production is ready to take part in the experimental checking of verification procedures, he pointed out.

Commentators on Paris Conference, Proposed Ban

Pasko Views Soviet Decision

LD1001162989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Vladimir Pasko commentary]

[Text] The foreign press is devoting an exceptionally large amount of attention to the Soviet Union's decision to start destroying its stocks of chemical weapons as soon as the destruction facilities are built. Vladimir Pasko comments:

This decision, announced by Comrade Shevardnadze at the international conference in Paris, is being seen as an important step contributing toward progress at the talks on completely outlawing and scrapping chemical weapons. Our stance on this issue has undergone a fundamental revolution in the past 2 years—from the production of chemical weapons to their complete renunciation; from hushing up the figures on the stockpiles to publishing the relevant data; from seeking to protect the enterprises and dumps from unauthorized publicity to acknowledging the concept of comprehensive monitoring.

I should point out that the United States ceased production of chemical weapons back in 1963, but nevertheless we continued to build up our stocks, and in so doing made it easier for the United States to decide to develop binary chemical combat supplies. In 1986, having acknowledged for the first time that we had chemical weapons, the new Soviet leadership announced a halt to their production, and a desire to secure a complete ban and their elimination.

Having made our choice, we are sticking to it rigidly, rapidly repairing our omission, and reaching an unprecedented level of openness. At the same time, having set out on the path of chemical disarmament, we have a vital interest in ensuring that the ban on chemical weapons and the elimination of their stockpiles go ahead with effective international monitoring.

As Comrade Shevardnadze stated in Paris, any convention must include a provision for inspection, by request, of any place or facility at short notice and without the right of refusal. It is worth noting that it was George Bush, soon to take up his duties as U.S. president, who in 1984 first suggested such inspections. As Comrade Shevardnadze has just stated, we accept the idea of an open invitation to inspection with the understanding that the inspectors have unrestricted access to all sites and facilties subject to verification. This means that any chemical enterprise, whether state-run or private, would be subject to checks.

Western countries have raised this issue on several occasions, maintaining that private companies, afraid of industrial espionage, will obstruct monitoring. In our opinion, a solution to this problem can be raised. I believe our counterparts at the talks now think this way, too. In an interview with a Soviet correspondent, Secretary of State Shultz said he believed the Soviet Union's stand on chemical weapons, as set out by the USSR minister of foreign affairs, to be extremely constructive. He acknowledged that in working toward a convention, the most important thing is to draw up a detailed procedure for verification. At the same time, referring to the experience of the talks on intermediate-range missiles, Shultz said: We realize how carefully the details of the agreement must be worked out, and we know we can achieve this.

World reaction to Comrade Shevardnadze's speech in Paris bolsters confidence that the coming year will be one in which an international convention banning and scrapping chemical weapons is signed. The participation of 145 countries in the Paris conference shows that the world community is interested in this.

Ministry Spokesman on Conference

LD1001153489 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—A spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry described the International Conference on Chemical Weapons in Paris as an "event of prime importance in modern international life".

Sergey Batsanov, deputy head of the Ministry's Arms Control and Disarmement Directorate, told reporters today that a broad consensus in favour of an early and complete ban on chemical weapons is shaping up and that the understanding of the fact that the new year must be decisive in this respect is growing.

He described as positive the speeches by West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti and a number of other prominent foreign figures at the Paris conference.

"On the whole, we positively assess the speech by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, too," Batsanov said.

The spokesman drew reporters' attention to the statements at the conference by representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Laos, Bangladesh and other nations who said that their countries are joining the 1925 Geneva protocol on the prohibition of the use of chemical weapons.

Speaking about difficulties which arose during the drafting of the final document of the conference and in the course of discussions, he cited, by way of example, a thesis on the need for a very firm link between bans on chemical and nuclear weapons.

"In our view, progress must be sought in both areas, of course. However, it would be unproductive to link the two problems in one knot. That can complicate both problems," Batsanov said.

He pointed out that the situation at the conference grew complicated to some extent due to an incident in the Mediterranean in which U.S. naval aircraft shot down two Libyan planes over neutral waters.

The U.S. side has not responded to the Libyan leadership's invitation to visit the plant which the United States believes manfactures, or is capable of manufacturing, chemical weapons, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman went on.

"In these conditions Washington's actions and threats against Libya run counter to international law and common sense," he said.

"The Soviet delegation proceeds from the need for universal agreement on the final document which would allow all countries to take a single stand in favour of an early and complete ban on chemical weapons."

Zholkver Comments on Meeting

LD1101025389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Aleksandr Zholkver commentary]

[Excerpts] The International Conference on Chemical Weapons continues in Paris. Our political observer, Aleksandr Zholkver, comments on the proceedings:

[Zholkver] [Passage omitted] It would be wrong to disregard the existing difficulties in the chemical weapons sphere. One of them consists of the complicated nature of establishing the facts concerning the manufacture of chemical weapons. Suffice it to recall the noise stirred up in Washington with regard to the construction of a pharmaceutical factory in Libya, which the United States described as a center for manufacturing chemical armaments. An international convention on banning chemical weapons should include, of course, a provision for carrying out inspection of any place or facility at short notice and without right of refusal.

In his speech at the Paris conference, Comrade Shevardnadze stated that the Soviet Union is for the strictest international verification, including on-site inspection. Incidentally, when our site for destroying chemical weapons starts operating—and this will be as soon as this year—we will invite representatives of interested countries to visit it. True, the BBC already has alleged that only obsolete weapons will be destroyed, but why not, if only to make a start, instead of manufacturing new weapons as the United States is doing? So, on this issue, which is truly vital for all mankind, goodwill and openness are of crucial importance.

Disarmament Progress Since 1986 Viewed

LD1101061789 Moscow TASS in English 0609 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—Three years ago, on January 15, 1986, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's statement, which later on got the name of the charter of a nuclear-free world, was made public, Vadim Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament), has written specially for the TASS world service.

The statement of January 15, 1986, was first of all a marked step forward along the road of philosophical comprehension of the consequences of world development in recent decades. It was precisely the grasping of the essence of its new regularities and fresh opportunities that enabled the Soviet leader to draw the following conclusion: Mankind should change orientations and abandon the mentality dating back to the stone age when the principal concern was to get as big a cudgel or a stone as possible.

The statement set out the principled basis for a renewed foreign policy of the USSR—the policy of perestroyka, Vadim Zagladin writes.

The first peculiarity of the initiatives which reflect the essence of the foreign policy concept of perestroyka is that they do not affect and do not encroach upon the national interests of any state. On the contrary, they take into account the common and even universal interest—the interest in survival.

The second peculiarity is that the statement is not limited to the military amd political aspect of ensuring mankind's survival. A solution to the task of nuclear disarmament, the elimination of chemical weapons and reduction in conventional arms is closely connected in it with a solution to other global problems and first of all the problem of development.

The statement set out not only general considerations as to what should be done but clearly specified how and when. It contains a concrete programme for mankind's advance to a nuclear-free and safe world.

Only three years have passed. We now see that advance along the road mapped out then has begun. Intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are already being eliminated. Talks on chemical weapons are being held and are fruitful. The hope that this year the world may witness the beginning of the elimination of half of the arsenals of Soviet and U.S. strategic nuclear weapons is far from being unrealistic.

Time is not far off for the start of talks on reducing conventional arms and armed forces in Europe. Soon our country will begin to implement the unilateral decision on a reduction in its Armed Forces by half a million together with their weapons and on the elimination of its stocks of chemical weapons.

The Soviet Union does not hold that all that is resultant only of its own initiatives and efforts, Vadim Zagladin emphasises. Such a great undertaking as disarmament cannot be accomplished by anyone on one's own.

In what has been accomplished, there is a share of efforts of the U.S. leadership, of many West European governments, of non-aligned countries which actively press for disarmament, and of course, of the world public opinion.

But, while recognising this, one cannot fail to note: The roots of the positive tendency which is developing before our very eyes are in the January days of 1986.

Kashlev Assesses Progress at Vienna Conference
LD1001233589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] The other day the mass media reported that the Vienna meeting of states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is close to a fruitful conclusion. What is the exact state of affairs at this international forum? Our correspondent in Austria Viktor Mikheyev interviewed Comrade Kashlev, head of the Soviet delegation:

[Begin Kashlev recording] We have already said that the Vienna meeting has entered the final stretch—one can now say that this is not only the final stretch, but even the last dozens of meters of this stretch—because the host country Austria has proposed that the meeting be concluded 17-19 January at the level of all 35 countries' foreign ministers, and this has been supported by virtually everyone.

What is the situation now? The final document of the all-European Vienna meeting is ready, to all intents and purposes. Neutral and nonaligned countries submitted a renewed draft of this final document a few days ago. It has many new provisions and commitments relating to the development of political, humanitarian, economic, and ecological cooperation, and a big program of what we call all-European measures—that is conferences and talks. It is intended that in the next 3 years, after the Vienna meeting, more than a dozen major all-European conferences are to be held, for example on environmental protection, East-West trade, and a three-in-one conference on human rights and the humanitarian dimension—that is conferences in Paris, Copenhagen, and Moscow. It is very important that immediately after the Vienna meeting talks begin here between the 7 Warsaw Pact countries and the 16 NATO countries on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons; and talks between all the 35 member countries of the all-European process on strengthening military confidence-building measures. Thus a vast program is envisaged.

At the same time, rapid progress is being made at another forum, at the consultations between 23 countries on military issues. Agreement has virtually already been reached here on a mandate for future talks on conventional arms. [end recording]

Issues Addressed by Gorbachev in UN Speech Viewed
PM1101095589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by political observer Vsevolod Ovchinnikov: "Interdependence and Security: The Speech at the United Nations: Impetus for Search and Action"]

[Text] It has happened that words addressed to the world community from its loftiest rostrum immediately proved prophetic. On the very day that the head of the Soviet state called for joint consideration of the age-old question of how to make human life happy, just, and safe—on the very same day the blind elements delivered a cruel blow that made the inhabitants of our planet appreciate that they are members of one family. Even though the tragedy in Armenia cut short the planned visits, it did not undermine—but, on the contrary—underscored the point of M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the General Assembly: an appeal for solidarity among all people.

Counterwaves of compassion sped to the epicenter of the disaster. Surely not since the battle of Stalingrad have our embassies abroad known such a flood of unsolicited donations or such sincere sympathy and a desire to help Soviet people. The calamity which befell Armenia showed that the people are morally prepared for cooperation in the solution of global problems and for the joint creation and development which the Soviet leader talked about. The help for the earthquake victims was an impressive answer to the appeal that political problems be resolved only through political means, human problems only through human means.

It was Marx who urged: "Strive to ensure that the simple laws of morality and justice by which individuals should be guided in their relations with one another the supreme laws in relations among the peoples, too." The new political philosophy, whose foundation was laid by the head of the Soviet state at the General Assembly, is essentially consonant with that idea.

The world in which we live has changed fundamentally. The appearance of nuclear weapons has tragically emphasized the profundity of that change. As the embodiment of absolute military power, these weapons simultaneously showed the absolute limits of that power. The problem of mankind's survival and self-preservation assumed full importance. Wars occur from a clash of economic and political interests, national enmity, or ideological or religious incompatibility. Now the argument of weapons must give way to the weapon of argument. No disputes—not even the confrontation between different social systems—can be resolved by force in our age. For in the event of nuclear catastrophe, the ashes of capitalism will be indistinguishable from the ashes of socialism.

Man's very right to life has acquired a new meaning. It has become a global problem which requires a global solution. The habitability of the planet cannot be ensured only partially. One cannot sit on the fence in a nuclear conflict just as one cannot ensure the purity of the air or water within one's own national boundaries alone. The integrated and interdependent nature of the world is not only a condition of real security but also the key to it: the guarantee that such a goal is feasible if we move toward it together. We are reminded of that by wise words from the Einstein-Russell manifesto: "We appeal as people to people: Remember that you belong to the human race and forget about all the rest."

The joint struggle to save civilization does not demand that any side abandon its class principles, political convictions, or spiritual values. The point is to counter the militarist cult of force by the concept of the balance of interests and mutual, equal security. Force and the threat of force cannot and must not be instruments of foreign policy any longer. All states must show self-restraint and completely renounce the external use of force. That is the most important criterion of the world free of nuclear weapons and violence as the ideal proclaimed by the USSR and India in the Delhi declaration.

"It is clear right now," M.S. Gorbachev said from the General Assembly rostrum, "that the increasing of military strength does not make a single state all-powerful. Furthermore, a one-sided reliance on military strength ultimately weakens the other components of national security."

Since childhood we have been accustomed to the words: "Two worlds, two policies, two ways of life. Who is not with us is against us." For many years our country sought complete independence from the external encirclement which we considered hostile, and not without justification. The siege mentality identified security with military might and any dependence with weakness. Therefore it is sometimes hard for us to understand that in our day the interdependence of states and peoples is a guarantee of true security.

Meanwhile, further progress is possible now only through a search for universal human accord in the movement toward a new world order. This is incompatible with the existence of closed societies. There must be a new view of all types of international cooperation as the most important element of world security. The world economy, world science and culture are a single organism without which no state can develop normally. It is impossible to move forward "on parallel courses" without using the achievements of the world around us and the potential of equitable cooperation.

Socialism is an objective stage in the development of civilization. It has a right to succeed to all the best things mankind has created. It is not rational to ignore the experience of capitalism, either. Socialism's task is not to isolate itself from the world community but to participate actively in the international division of labor and be a leading force in the solution of the urgent problems of the present day. The democratization, demilitarization, and humanization of international relations, transferring the guarantee of security from the military-technical sphere to the sphere of political collaboration, and using mankind's accumulated potential for the joint solution of global problems—those are the directions of the USSR's foreign policy efforts.

For a long time national security was regarded primarily as a military problem and as the ability of the armed forces to protect the country against an external threat. But, as the 27th CPSU Congress noted, the character of today's weapons means that no state can hope to protect itself solely by military-technical means.

"For too long we were obsessed by the idea of what consititutes national security. Of course one has to be capable of defending oneself. But does national security consist solely in stockpiling as many weapons as possible?" the U.S. scientists Carl Sagan and his wife Ann Druyan ask in an open letter to George Bush. "Even though there are almost 60,000 nuclear weapons in the world, the United States and the USSR go on building up their deadly potential. The inevitable conclusion is: The more armaments we have above the reasonably necessary minimum, the less security we have. The larger the military arsenals, the greater the likelihood of the accidental occurrence of war and the more terrifying the catastrophe may be."

The message to the future incumbent of the White House is entitled "Give Us Hope!" Its authors express a crucial truth very accurately: Security cannot be identified with weapon quantities alone, while ignoring its nonmilitary aspects. Security in our time cannot be achieved at the expense of others. It can only be mutual and requires that the integrity and interdependence of the world are recognized.

A group of socialist countries has tabled a memorandum entitled "Security Through Disarmament" at the United Nations. In their view, in order to achieve this aim, it is necessary to coordinate the interests of national and universal security, placing emphasis on its nonmilitary guarantees and switching to the defensive doctrine. The aim is to ensure that forces are sufficient for defense but insufficient for attack—this simple idea makes it necessary not just to reduce the armed forces but also to profoundly restructure their organization, armament, and deployment, and to change the very nature of military activity.

The Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles marked an historic switch from the principle of excessive armament to the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense. Before our eyes a new model of ensuring security is taking shape—ensuring security by means of arms reduction on the basis of a compromise rather than by means of an arms buildup. Under the present structure of armed forces both NATO and the Warsaw Pact Organization fear a suprise attack. However, if both sides reduce their offensive potential while increasing their defensive capability, this will strengthen their individual and mutual security.

Each step along the path of disarmament is important not just for its own sake. The experience of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has shown graphically that the shortest way to trust is effective verification of a mutual, coordinated destruction of part of the military

potential. This is the easiest way to overcome the suspicion and hostility which arise between people who have grown used to facing each other only through the sights of their guns. This applies even more to the unilateral measures announced by the head of the Soviet state from the United Nations rostrum. They represent the practical beginning of the restructuring of the USSR Armed Forces on the basis of the defensive doctrine.

Until recently secrecy in the sphere of foreign and military policy was regarded as one of the elements of national security. This prompted each of the opposing sides to always adopt the worst of all possible options as a basis. By extending glasnost and openness to the sphere of diplomacy and defense, the Soviet Union is furnishing proof of its love of peace and eliminating unjustified suspicions, thus making it possible to avoid unnecessary expenditure of forces and resources and relying more extensively on the nonmilitary components of security.

It would be wrong to reduce our interdependence and universal human interests and values only to the task of ensuring survival. Halting the dangerous degradation of nature, feeding the hungry, healing the sick, teaching the illiterate, ensuring the progress of science and culture, providing for an exchange of genuine spiritual values, and protecting the moral sphere of society from being poisoned—this is the true content of universal human interests today. Not one of them is at variance with the ideals and aims of socialism and the aspirations of the Soviet people.

The USSR's actions in the world arena are in the spirit of the new political thinking. Without deviating from its principles, it seeks to listen carefully to the opinion of all the members of the international community and to develop and deepen the dialogue on fundamental questions of the world's development. The "cold war" is beginning to recede. The Land of the Soviets will do all in its power to ensure that mankind puts an end to it and enters a peaceful period, where its material resources and intellectual potential will be transferred increasingly to creative aims. Having learned to think in the new way, people will be able not only to survive, but to live a new life on the basis of equality, justice, trust, humanism, and cooperation.

United States & Canada

Pan Am 747 Makes Emergency Landing in Moscow

LD1101123289 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] At about 2 a.m. this morning a Pan American Boeing 747 made an emergency landing at Moscow's Sheremetevo Airport with more than 300 passengers on board. Official spokesmen said the plane had trouble with one of its four engines. It was doing a flight from Frankfurt on the Main to Delhi but had to request Soviet authorities for permission to land. A Pan American representative in Moscow has announced that a replacement plane was flying from West Germany.

Secretary of State Shultz Gives Last Speech

LD1001113889 Moscow TASS in English 1118 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Washington January 10 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz delivered a speech in Washington on Monday, which will probably become his last public speech in the capacity of secretary of state. "A new era in world affairs" begins now, he said. "Some have said that the Cold War is over. That may be true. Or it might be more accurate to say, as President-elect Bush did, that the post-war era is over."

The secretary of state named changes which the outgoing administration considered significant. One of them is that "the fear of nuclear war has been greatly diminished." "We have embarked on a new relationship with the Soviet Union that promises a lessening of superpower tensions and a more cooperative approach to world problems," he stressed.

"We have made important progress," Shultz said further, "in resolving long and bitter regional conflicts."

The state secretary also singled out changes in worldwide economic relations that made them more open. At the same time he recognized the existence of complicated problems and difficulties in modern world affairs, among them "the spread of chemical weapons," terrorism, international drug trade and "imbalances" of the economies of various countries.

U.S. Criticism of Soviet Press 'Misdirected'

PM1001141989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[V. Ovchinnikov "Rejoinder": "Reproaches Aimed at the Wrong Quarter"]

[Text] The U.S. press has begun to voice annoyed comments: Oh, those Russians! They themselves are striving to abandon the terms and stereotypes of "cold war" times. But it only took the American downing of two Libyan aircraft for the Soviet mass media to start rivaling one another with tales of air piracy and state terrorism. It looks as though everything is reverting to its former state because of a single incident. What about the constructive approach and the new thinking that people in Moscow are so fond of mentioning?

I want to tell my American colleagues plainly that their reproaches are misdirected. It is not the sharp tone of the Soviet press and television that runs counter to the new positive tendencies in USSR-U.S. relations, but the U.S. Administration's illegal military action in the Mediterranean. It is hard to tell who needed this latest flare-up of anti-Libyan hysteria, or why it was needed, against the backdrop of reassuring changes in the process of a Near East settlement leading, in particular, to the start of a U.S.-Palestinian dialogue.

Regardless of the reasons for the crime (firing missiles against another country's aircraft over international waters can only be described as such), facts are facts. By using weapons, the United States arbitrarily allotted itself the right to punish or pardon a sovereign state. But the attempt to introduce the lawlessness of lynch law into contemporary international practice is a dangerous anachronism. The time of "gunboat diplomacy" has passed, never to return. It is not the law of force but the force of law and the norms of civilized relations between states that have now become the behest of the times, one of the conditions for mankind's survival.

Army Daily Comments on 'Anti-Libyan Campaign'

PM1001134189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

[V. Pustov "Observer's Notes": "Act of State Terrorism"]

[Text] It is said that time puts everything in its place. It is almost 1 week since the destruction of two Libyan aircraft by the U.S. Air Force over international waters in the Mediterranean—quite sufficient time, so it turns out, to analyze what happened coolly, without fueling passions, and with due regard to all the conditions and circumstances that have come to light.

The first thing, which you cannot help noticing, is the situation akin to isolation in which the United States finds itself. Not a single voice in defense of the United States is to be heard in the UN Security Council, where this incident is being discussed at Libya's request, unless you count its own spokesman's statement, pronounced with great-power spirit.

Even in the world as a whole only Israel, which is traditionally hostile to the Arab world, has tried to justify the U.S. fighters' attack on the Libyan aircraft. This time even the reaction of the majority of U.S. partners in the NATO bloc was very restrained. "The allies," an NBC-TV broadcast points out, "are in no hurry to support the actions of the White House." As for Arab countries, they very resolutely condemned the criminal U.S. actions. The nonaligned countries' coordinating bureau made a similar statement.

Let us recall that U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci has denied a link between this military action and the U.S. charges that Libya is supposedly constructing a chemical plant. Holding Libya responsible for the tragic incident, he declared it closed. It is impossible to agree on either count. It is obvious to everyone that the attack on the Libyan aircraft stemmed from the anti-Libyan campaign mounted by Washington. "Deep down," McLaughlin, correspondent for the U.S. CBS-TV Company, reported from London, "West Europeans are convinced that the atmosphere which the Reagan administration is fueling with its continuing charges about the chemical plant under construction led directly to the clash and to the present tremendous tension in the Mediterranean."

Observers abroad are now putting forward two explanations for what was perpetrated in the Mediterranean sky. There is, above all, the idea of securing the overthrow of the Libyan regime—an idea which gives the Washington administration no rest. "European diplomats perceive this as the true cause of this incident," NBC TV reports. The fact that the anti-Libyan campaign has recently been blown up still more in the United States, in connection with last December's disaster involving a U.S. airliner, also played its part here. Of course, there are not the slightest grounds for suspecting Libya of possible sabotage, not that any official accusations regarding this are being leveled. But it is customary on the other side of the ocean tacitly, if not openly, to blame the Arabs above all and the Libyans in particular for any act of terrorism.

However, people in West Europe are not inclined to take seriously the so-called "Libyan terrorism"—which fact is perceived with a fair degree of irritation in the United States. The British ITV Company emphasizes that the United States is having misgivings in connection with the improvement in relations between West European countries and Libya—which also served to blow up the ballyhoo over the plant under construction in Libya.

As has already happened repeatedly in the past, many people in the world now are asking just who authorized Washington arbitrarily to decide, contrary to international law, to punish or pardon sovereign states whose conduct it considers unwelcome. Why, unbiased observers ask, does the United States threaten Libya, groundlessly accusing it of intending to produce chemical weapons, whereas several years ago it did not even hint at the possibility of taking military measures against Iraq, which, according to the United States itself, was not only producing but also using such weapons in the war against Iran?

The United States itself, incidentally, made extensive use of toxins during its aggression against Vietnam. It is customary, as is known, to judge a policy on deeds, not on words. So it is impossible not to heed the warning of Robinson, a leading expert on chemical weapons at Sussex University, cited by the British newspaper THE INDEPENDENT. It is risky, he said, for Americans to raise the Libyan question since "they are simultaneously renewing their own arsenal of chemical arms and trying to persuade as many countries as possible to agree to ban chemical weapons."

There is no denying that mankind must be freed once and for all from the threat of the use of this most monstrous means of mass destruction. This is the goal set by the 146 states participating in the international conference taking place in Paris. This highly representative forum is discussing, in particular, the strengthening of the setup established by the 1925 Geneva protocol banning "the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other similar gases, as well as all analogous liquids, materials, and devices." But, for all this, the existing Geneva protocol does not provide for the use of force against countries that are producing or preparing to produce chemical weapons. The Paris conference was certainly not conceived by its initiators as "a trial of a particular country." As regards Libya, people even in the West acknowledge the lack of any concrete evidence of its intention to produce such weapons.

The United States would now like to present the Libyan aircrafts' destruction as the result of an aerial battle for which it holds the victim of the attack responsible, ascribing "hostile intentions" to it. This despite the fact that the Libyan aircraft were making a reconnaissance flight not far from their own airspace and did not even open fire. The U.S. pilots took advantage of the right afforded them to use force at their own discretion while thousands of kilometers from their own country.

Another question arises: How would events have developed if the Libyan Air Force had conducted maneuvers similar to the U.S. ones somewhere close to the U.S. coast? The British newspaper THE GUARDIAN reasonably asks: "Would U.S. aircraft have abandoned a 'hostile position' if they had encountered a potential enemy close to Florida?" The answer is obvious.

The anti-Libyan campaign in the United States and the incident provoked by it in the Mediterranean are perceived throughout the world with great alarm. For they are fraught with a number of dangerous consequences. First, does all this not presage an even larger-scale armed action? Washington appears to be making reassuring statements about this. However, the situation in the region remains extremely tense. Reports are appearing in the Western press that the United States is not abandoning the idea of "striking at the chemical plant" in Libya and that this could happen after the conclusion of the international conference in Paris. It is also reported that ships of the 6th Fleet and U.S. bases in Italy have been placed on alert.

Second, as PLO leader Y. 'Arafat warned, the aircraft incident "could have a very negative impact on the whole process of a Near East settlement." The incident plays into the hands of certain U.S. circles which clearly dislike the dialogue established with the PLO.

The U.S. military action is by no means the first manifestation of state terrorism. This provocation emphasizes once again the pressing need to take practical measures to strengthen security in the region. The well-known Soviet initiatives aimed at precisely this are once again attracting close world public attention. The incident involving the U.S. Air Force attack on Libyan aircraft, A. Mechtersheimer, FRG Bundestag deputy for the "Green" Party, declared, shows very clearly how urgent the proposals of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev are to hold Soviet-U.S. talks on the withdrawal of their fleets from the Mediterranean.

It is particularly important now to prevent a further exacerbation of tension in the region and a possible new relapse into imperial strong-arm politics.

Multilateral Chemical Weapons Disarmament Needed
LD1001131089 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Pavel Kuznetsov commentary]

[Text] On Sunday Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told the conference on chemical weapons in Paris that the Soviet Union would start to destroy its chemical arms later this year, before the completion of a treaty to ban them. More from our observer Pavel Kuznetsov.

The Soviet Union stopped manufacturing chemical arms in 1987 and is building a plant where its chemical stocks will be destroyed. Eduard Shevardnadze has also told the Paris conference that this country would accept the principle of on-site inspections of chemical weapons facilities and once its factory was completed, would invite interested countries to visit it. Another Soviet offer deals with holding seminars to share its knowhow in destroying chemical weapons.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz welcomed the Soviet statement, noting with pride that while the USSR is still building a plant to destroy chemical weapons we have a plant in being. True, the United States is destroying its unitary chemical weapons that are toxic by themselves but, at the same time, is building up its stocks of binary weapons. They are much more lethal and effective but their big plus is that they are safe to store. With this in mind I would refrain from calling the United States as being in the forefront of chemical disarmament; replacing ugly and outmoded weapons with cleaner ones is not my idea of fair play.

Incidentally when the United States began to manufacture binary chemical weapons I do not recall a single nation contemplating a surgical strike against its production facility. What a stupid idea one would say. First of all the United States would never allow anybody even near its factory at Pine Bluff, and secondly, the 1925 convention does not ban the production and storage of chemical weapons, all it bans is their use. So even if Washington has strong doubts that a plant near Al-Rabitah is meant to turn Libya into the world's largest producer of all kinds of pills and other pharmaceuticals why should it apply to Libya or anybody else the logic that it refuses to apply to itself?

To dissuade others from doing bad things the United States, the Soviet Union, and other major powers should set an example by building down almost anything they have in their arsenals. When Israel is presumed to have an arsenal of nuclear arms and has tested missiles to carry them it is no less a threat than Libya's alleged capability to produce mustard gas. In my view the Al-Rabitah facility is peanuts compared with the versatile military technology of Israel. And if there is so much talk these days about the need for rational behaviour in world affairs let's start by admitting that the arms race is a madness, that the whole world has been seriously ill for many decades, and that there still are quite a few politicians left who are as irrational in their thinking as are some local dictators. That the latter seem to be easier to get rid of by force or physically does not solve the problem.

Ryzhkov Meets Soviet, Canadian Transpolar Skiers
PM1101103789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Meeting With the Conquerors of the Arctic"]

[Text] N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, met 9 January with the participants in the Soviet-Canadian transarctic ski expedition and awarded them USSR state awards. They have been awarded these medals for successfully traversing the USSR-North Pole-Canada route and for their great contribution to the development of friendly USSR-Canadian relations.

D.I. Shparo, leader of the expedition and associate professor at Moscow's Steel and Alloys Institute, was awarded the Order of the Labor Red Banner.

His comrades in the expedition, which joined for the first time in history the Arctic shores of our country and Canada by a ski run of almost 2,000 km, were awarded the Order of the Peoples' Friendship. They included four Canadian sportsmen: Doctor B. Maxwell, engineers R. Weber and C. Holloway, and Anglican vicar L. Dexter.

The Soviet pilots who provided the expedition with support were awarded the Order of Honor. The members of the expedition base group received medals "For Labor Valor."

Addressing the participants in the meeting, N.I. Ryzhkov said:

We have a splendid opportunity to give the participants in the Soviet-Canadian expedition their due today. They have built a unique bridge of friendship uniting the two shores of the Arctic Ocean—the Soviet Union and Canada—and crossing the North Pole.

The history of the study and conquest of the Arctic contains many bright pages preserving the memory of the courage and strength of the human spirit and nobility of purpose, and preserving the memory of the people who devoted themselves to studying the Arctic, in a number of cases even giving their lives for it. But never before have skiers traveled across the top of the world. Never before has a group comprising representatives of different social systems taken the pole. Canadian and Soviet citizens—an engineer, a worker, a vicar, a doctor, an artist, and a scientist—formed a unified collective and under most difficult extreme conditions acted in a coordinated fashion and risked their lives together for the sake of the common cause.

Without mentioning the expedition's scientific significance—and it provided medicine, geophysics, and ecology with a great deal of useful material—the very fact of such an international pooling of efforts arouses profound and grateful feelings.

You realize this particularly clearly now when a new concept of the world—the new political thinking—is making headway through the icy peaks of confrontation, under the conditions of the tremendous danger threatening mankind and under conditions of profound alarm for our common future. A world where mistrust should give way to mutual understanding, hostility to amicability, and alienation and indifference to compassion and cooperation.

That is the world of which we have dreamed. Today we are moving from dreams to actions that encompass various fields and spheres interconnected in a single intelligent program. The proposals put forward by M.S. Gorbachev at the 43d UN General Assembly session constitute such a program.

The joint crossing involving citizens from the USSR and Canada—the two largest Arctic countries—which are not only separated by the ocean but which also belong to different social systems and different military-political groupings, is a weighty contribution to strengthening mutual understanding between the peoples.

As Canadian Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney said on greeting the participants in the crossing in his country, you have proved that it is possible to work together in striving toward a common goal despite all the differences. As you can see, we fully agree with this.

One must add that the expedition itself and its success became possible thanks to the fact that many Canadian and Soviet people shared the idea for the crossing, and that reliable and committed sponsors such as KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, the "Sputnik" International Youth Tourism Bureau, and the Canadian firms "Koneksus" [name as transliterated] and "McDonald's" undertook the preparations.

Millions of people followed your crossing and wished you success. Many people were involved in organizing it. That is why, together with the direct participants in the crossing, we are giving awards today to the Soviet people who helped bring this bold plan to fruition. They are the pilots, base radio operators, and members of the expedition headquarters.

I cordially congratulate you all on your lofty state awards from the Soviet Union. I wholeheartedly wish you good health and happiness. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, sends you his cordial congratulations.

May the snowy ski track laid by your expedition across the pole retain its significance as the path for friendly ties between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Canada.

After the presentation of the awards a conversation took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere between N.I. Ryzhkov and the members of the expedition. The Soviet and Canadian participants expressed cordial gratitude for the high assessment of the crossing and for the assistance offered by the Soviet Government in organizing and implementing it. The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers asked about the details of the unique expedition and the sportsmen's future plans. A common desire to continue cooperation in the Arctic and develop comprehensive contacts between the USSR and Canada was expressed.

It was noted in the course of the conversation that the polar bridge erected by the Soviet and Canadian skiers fits in well with the concept of the new political thinking. N.I. Ryzhkov mentioned the Soviet Union's Murmansk initiatives, aimed at opening up the Arctic in order to benefit people and develop cooperation in environmental protection between the countries of the North, in the interests of the Arctic states, Europe as a whole, and the entire international community. The expedition was indisputably a step in this direction.

V. Turner, Canadian ambassador to the USSR, and also P. Bird, president of "Koneksus," who sponsored the expedition, gave warm thanks for the friendly reception accorded to the Canadian participants in the Arctic crossing in the Soviet Union and for their Orders of the Peoples' Friendship. N.I. Ryzhkov was given a letter from Canadian Prime Minister B. Mulroney that read as follows:

"The 1988 transpolar ski expedition united Soviet and Canadian citizens in a difficult and bold venture. Those involved in it displayed considerable courage, energy, and

resourcefulness. In giving the Canadian participants awards, the Soviet Government has marked their services in a special way that they will remember all their lives.

"However, in terms of its significance, this event goes beyond mere acknowledgment of successful Soviet-Canadian cooperation in sport. It attests that Canada and the Soviet Union are in fact neighbors in the Arctic and can pool their efforts in a spirit of growing mutual understanding and trust. The transpolar ski expedition serves as a symbol and a practical example of the progress being made in relations between our countries."

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers asked for a message of thanks to be sent to Canada's prime minister for his friendly message, the substance and spirit of which attest to the recent positive development of Soviet-Canadian relations. N.I. Ryzhkov recalled that the Soviet Union is expecting the head of the Canadian Government on an official visit.

L. Dexter, a participant in the meeting, handed over a check from the citizens of the city of Fort Smith (Canada) for the relief fund for the Armenian earthquake victims.

The following were present during the presentation of the awards: V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister; P. Laroque, expedition sponsor and vice president of "McDonald's"; and the leaders of the expedition headquarters on the Soviet and Canadian sides.

China

Alekseyev Comments on Soviet-Chinese Relations

OW1001210989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen's visit to the Soviet Union is an important event of 1988. A meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo pointed out recently that the achievement of the visit was that Soviet-Chinese dialogue entered a new phase. It has agreed in principle to hold a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. This is a good process that accords with the interests and desires of the Soviet and Chinese people, but what is the foundation of this process? Station observer Alekseyev writes:

Gorbachev's book on reforms and new ideas has been published in China. In the book Gorbachev says that an advantage of the socialist system is its ability to learn not to contradict the interests of socialist countries and to promote harmony among them.

I think it is this kind of ability to learn that has helped the Soviet Union and China to extricate themselves from a long period of tense relations and to move toward the normalization of relations between them. I will not go into detail regarding this matter here. I want to point out that the process of reform in China, which started after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in 1978, changed people's attitudes toward international relations, and was also an important prerequisite for a new period of Soviet-Chinese relations. The characteristic of the new period is that the two countries are striving to promote good-neighborly relations and cooperation.

The Soviet Union has learned many things in the past years. For example, in its relations with other socialist countries, its guiding principle is not to resort to the most extreme standard. There are differences between Moscow and Beijing regarding some international issues. What about them? Shall they become an obstacle to developing overall good-neighborly relations between the Soviet Union and China? We are opposed to such a viewpoint because we think it runs counter to a new trend of thought. The Soviet Union's foreign policy is based on a new trend of thought. The Soviet Union and China are world powers. It is not strange, but natural, that their interests in the international arena are not always identical. What is important is that efforts should be made to balance the interests of both sides and patiently seek mutually acceptable solutions.

Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, in a recent interview with the XINHUA News Agency, said: The trend toward eliminating obstacles and solving problems is growing due to the efforts of both sides. This process will continue, and there is no doubt that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations has entered a new phase.

Development of PRC Border Trade Described

OW1001211189 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] Dear listeners, today we are going to introduce to you the development of border trade between the Soviet Union and China. In this connection, our station reporter (Lin Yike) writes:

Blagoveshchensk is a not-too-large Soviet city along the bank of Amur River. At the city's department store, customers happily purchase overcoats that are made in China. They are a type of overcoat that looks as if it were filled with air, but instead it is filled with light, soft feathers. Inside this department store, one can also find Chinese labels on products like chinaware sets, knitted jackets, thermos bottles, flashlights, and towels. The merchandise at Blagoveshchensk department store came from the Chinese city of Heihe across the Amur River. During the past 1 to 1-and-1/2 years, residents of the two neighboring cities have earnestly sought to expand contacts in every field, including (?painting exhibitions). (?Civil engineers), gold miners, and reporters from (?AMUR PRAVDA) and HEIHE RIBAO have exchanged visits. Border trade has also expanded vigorously.

[Words indistinct] the value of border trade for the first half of 1988 exceeded that for the whole of 1987. (Kerlechev), vice president of the RSFSR Foreign Trade Corporation, described how trade is conducted between the two sides as well as the items transacted. He said: After a long lapse, border trade with China resumed in 1983. Toward the end of 1982, the Heilongjiang trade delegation visited Khabarovsk. The two sides reached an agreement to supply a list of merchandise to each other. The Chinese side was willing to provide consumer goods and meat products; the Soviet side was willing to supply consumer goods and household electrical appliances. [passage indistinct] (?Border trade had since) expanded rapidly. In addition to Heilongjiang Province, Liaoning, Jilin, Inner Mongolia, and other Chinese regions have also participated in the border trade. Because the Soviet Government has adopted the resolution to give local trade organizations the authority to conduct foreign trade, trade between Soviet-Chinese border regions has now expanded tremendously. The trade value has reached several million Swiss francs. More and more localities, including those not at the border, are also engaged in border trade. Novosibirsk Oblast, Yakutsk ASSR, Kemerovo Oblast, and Altay Kray have gone into active cooperation with some Chinese foreign trade corporations. The main Soviet export items are building materials, timber, cement, glass, steel plates, (?sundry materials), roofing materials, fish and aquatic products, and other merchandise. The Chinese side supplies sewn and knitted items, household electrical appliances, meat products, soya beans, peanuts and some confectionery products.

Kerlechev continued: Currently, Maritime Kray, Khabarovsk Kray, and Amur Oblast are actively preparing for the establishment of Soviet-Chinese joint ventures, cooperation in the field of cooperatives, and production of goods on Soviet soil using Chinese techniques and with the help of Chinese companies. This will include brickworks, canneries, vegetable and milk processing plants, and enterprises for the cultivation of ginseng. We hope to make use of the Chinese workforce because there is an oversupply of labor across the Amur River and a shortage of labor in the Soviet Far East. This will bring benefits to both parties.

Kerlechev concluded: The establishment of free economic zones will have great significance in expanding border trade.

Friendship Association Promotes Ties With China

OW1001203589 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Talk by (Milov), council member of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association]

[Text] In 1988, the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association continued to introduce to the Soviet people the major events in the history of Soviet-Chinese relations and the major milestones of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggles and national liberation war. The association also sponsored all kinds of activities to commemorate well-known Chinese internationalist fighters and cultural celebrities. For example, Moscow's Home of Friendship sponsored soirees to commemorate Tian Han, a noted Chinese playwright; Wu Yuzhang, an outstanding CPC member and representative to the Seventh Communist International Congress; Zhou Enlai, a noted Chinese statesman and political leader; and Peng Dehuai, marshall of the Chinese PLA. Moreover, in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the defense of Wuhan, the association also sponsored a meeting of Soviet pilots who participated in the historical event. It also sponsored a meeting to mark the 39th anniversary of the founding of the PRC.

Of course, activities of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association were not limited to sponsoring various kinds of commemoration activities. For example, it also sponsored a get-together to mark the Chinese Spring Festival. Chinese students and graduate students studying at institutions of higher education in the Soviet Union, and young workers working at the Rigachev Motor Plant [words indistinct] were also invited to attend the get-together jointly sponsored by the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association, the Society of Soviet Sinologists, and the Far Eastern Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. [Words indistinct] dancing and recreational activities proceeded in a relaxed atmosphere. The fantastic performance staged by Chinese college students received warm applause.

Soviet-Chinese ties continued to develop in 1988. The process of the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations continued to move forward. Trade, economic, scientific-technological, and cultural cooperation continued to expand in 1988. In 1988, the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association contributed its share to promoting the two countries' cultural cooperation and the development of solidarity and contacts between social and nongovernmental organizations of the two countries. Last October, a delegation from the Chinese Association for the Promotion of Friendship with Foreign Countries, headed by Wu Xiuquan, president of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, visited the USSR. In addition to Moscow, the delegation also visited Leningrad, Yalta, and other cities. During its visit in the USSR, Comrade Wu Xiuquan and other members of the delegation had meetings with old friends of China, activists of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association, and other Soviet social leaders.

In 1988, a delegation from the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, headed by its chairman, Tereshkova, reciprocated the visit. During its stay in China, the delegation was received by Chinese Vice President Wang Zhen. It also had meetings with Chen Muhua, chairman of the Chinese Women's Federation, Beijing Mayor Chen Xitong, as well as comrades of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association.

(Milov) continued: 1989 is commonly acknowledged as a new year in which the development of Soviet-Chinese relations will enter a new stage, and the Soviet-Chinese

Friendship Association should play an important role in strengthening the two people's traditional friendship, in expanding contacts between the two countries' social organizations, and in further promoting their cultural exchange. China will mark its 40th founding anniversary in 1989. Our association will hold a series of commemorative activities to mark the occasion. It will also commemorate other memorial days of significance to China and to the history of Soviet-Chinese relations, and will exchange visits with the Chinese Association for the Promotion of Friendship with Foreign Countries. The task confronting the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association is one of seeking new forms of contacts that can satisfy the Soviet public and (?that are) interesting to China. In 1989, we will sponsor meetings on Chinese history and culture. Noted Soviet sinologists will give lectures at the meetings. They will introduce to the Soviet public things about modern China, Chinese history, Chinese culture, and Chinese traditions.

We hope that in 1989, the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association will be able to make even greater contributions to promoting friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and Chinese peoples in a more active and innovative manner.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

U.S.-Lao Talks Could Open 'New Stage' in Relations

PM0901132589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Jan 89 First Edition pp 1, 5

[Dispatch by correspondent Anatoliy Sheludko: "Mutual Interest"]

[Text] Vientiane—Lao-U.S. talks which, I think, may lay the foundation for a new stage in relations between the two countries, have ended in the capital of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

Representatives of the White House, the State Department, the Departments of Defense and Commerce, and the league of families who have lost relations in the Indochinese war came as part of the U.S. delegation. This fact in itself, assessed at its worth by the Lao side, could not fail to affect the nature and results of the talks. As an interview given to Lao radio by LPDR Deputy Foreign Minister Suban Sritkhirat [name as transliterated] attests, they passed fruitfully.

The guests offered to render the LPDR assistance in destroying the plantations of opium here and stopping the illegal drug trade. The Lao side, agreeing in principle to the offer, asked that potential aid be linked to the all-around improvement of the life and daily conditions of the population in the republic's inaccessible mountain regions, mostly the notorious "golden triangle," where opium has been cultivated since time immemorial. The U.S. delegation agreed with this opinion, because the problem, which affects everyone, can be resolved not only and not so much by bans as by changing and ennobling people's entire way of life—by building roads, schools, and hospitals and teaching the mountain people new professions.

The guests received with understanding the demand to eliminate the consequences of the U.S.-Saigon aggression, directly linked by the Lao side with granting U.S. specialists the opportunity to search LPDR territory for the remains of dead U.S. servicemen. The sides reached the opinion, Suban Sritkhirat noted, that we are essential to each other in the solution of this humanitarian problem and that each of our countries should be aware of its responsibility and fulfill its duty. The delegations agreed that as early as the end of this month experts should elaborate plans for excavations, to gain information about the dead and also for the construction of establishments which the LPDR needs.

The beneficial influence of the new thinking is in evidence, blazing a trail in mutual relations between the two countries and making it possible to attain cooperation in previously inaccessible, delicate spheres.

The interview given by the Lao deputy foreign minister noted that the U.S. delegation promised that the U.S. Government will respect Laos' independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity and will not interfere in its internal affairs in any form. In addition, the U.S. side stated that it does not support people who are struggling against the LPDR Government.

The results of the Lao-U.S. talks attest to the sides' desire to do everything to resolutely improve relations between Laos and the United States. Here, of course, it is a case not only of the presence of mutual interests, but also above all of the fact that these interests are being recognized and are becoming an active force in mutual relations between the two countries.

Leadership Sends Greetings on PRK Anniversary

PM0901130189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jan 89 Second Edition p 1

[USSR leadership greetings to PRK leaders on 10th anniversary of the PRK]

[Text] To Comrade Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the PRK State Council

Comrade Chea Sim, member of the KPRP Central Committee Politburo and president of the PRK National Assembly

Comrade Hun Sen, member of the KPRP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers

Esteemed comrades!

On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the PRK National Day the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, USSR Council of Ministers, and the entire Soviet people send you and, through you, the KPRP Central Committee, the State Council, National Assembly, and Council of Ministers of the PRK, and the entire Cambodian people, the warmest congratulations and best wishes.

People in the Soviet Union note with satisfaction that the efforts of the KPRP and of the Cambodian people to bring about a rebirth of their motherland, which was subjected to brutal genocide by the Pol Pot regime, are bearing visible fruit. Profound transformations are being implemented in sociopolitical and cultural life, and tangible successes have been achieved in state building and the development of the national economy, education, and health care.

The 10th anniversary of the PRK is a major historical milestone which makes it possible to sum up what has been achieved and to outline the prospects of the country's further development. The decisions of the upcoming all-Cambodian KPRP conference will undoubtedly give new impetus to the important sociopolitical processes in the life of the Cambodian people.

The republic is marking its jubilee in a struggle for the implementation of the course of national reconciliation, proclaimed in 1987 to ensure peace on the soil of ancient Angkor, which has suffered so much. Thanks to the enterprising and consistent line of the PRK, the SRV, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and other peace-loving states, the settlement of the Cambodian problem is gradually moving into the realm of practical decisions. Inter-Khmer negotiations, the continuation of the Jakarta process, and the utilization of the Nonaligned Movement's potential are imparting dynamism to the development of events in this direction.

The Soviet Union is in solidarity with the struggle of the Cambodian people for national accord and with their efforts to prevent the restoration of the genocide regime and to build a new life. Soviet people value highly the relations of friendship and all-around cooperation which link the USSR and the PRK, and express readiness to continue to steadily expand and improve them for the benefit of both countries and peoples.

We wish the KPRP Central Committee, the State Council, National Assembly, and Council of Ministers of the PRK, and the entire Cambodian people further successes in the implementation of the socioeconomic program of the Fifth KPRP Congress, and the attainment of national reconciliation and of a comprehensive political settlement in the interests of the Cambodian people and the cause of peace and security in Southeast Asia and throughout the world.

The CPSU Central Committee

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers

Cambodia Pursues National Reconciliation Policies

PM0901145389 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 89 p 3

[Own correspondent A. Romashko dispatch: "Between Peace and War. This Is Where Cambodia, Which Today Celebrates Its National Day, Has Now Been Living for 10 Years"]

[Excerpt] Phnom Penh-Hanoi—[passage omitted] Forgiveness for those who have gone astray is an important condition of the policy of national reconciliation being pursued by the people's power. Pol Pot split the Cambodian people.

The undeclared war which the armed opposition has now been waging for many years against the people's power and against the people themselves has been the chief obstacle to the country's further development. The struggle against the counterrevolution devours considerable funds, diverts the forces of a sizable section of the able-bodied population, and thwarts the opportunity to tackle properly the resolution of peaceful problems.

Politicians of Western countries and of certain states in Southeast Asia who are disposed against people's Cambodia had been hoping "handsomely," with the help of political pressure and diplomatic maneuvers, to return to Phnom Penh their own henchmen who were driven out by the people. However, it soon became clear that the offer of a dialogue signifies not a weakness but a strengthening of the PRK's positions. It was precisely confidence in their own strength and in the people's support that enabled the Cambodian leaders to extend their hand toward their political rivals, inviting them to a peaceful discussion of their motherland's problems. In the end, that gesture was evaluated at its true worth.

There followed meetings between Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen and Prince Sihanouk. They were the start of a dialogue between Khmers standing on different sides of the barricade. Then a meeting was held with the participation of the four opposing sides, Vietnam, Laos, and the ASEAN countries in Bogor, a suburb of Jakarta.

Addressing journalists, Dit Munti [name as transliterated], PRK first deputy foreign minister, characterized that meeting as an important step on the way out of the impasse of war.

Groupings represented by Sihanouk and Son Sann have undertaken a dialogue with the government of people's Cambodia but, at the same time, they advance demands which are not always constructive or dictated by political wisdom.

But the political initiative in resolving the Cambodian problem is not in the hands of the opposition today. Hun Sen proposed a detailed, constructive program of national reconciliation at the meeting in Paris. It consists of seven points and, in particular, proposes that all the opposing sides cease military operations, and that a general election be held on Cambodian territory under international control 3 months after the withdrawal of Vietnamese units. It is proposed to preserve the present political regime until the election, and to form a quadripartite council of national reconciliation headed by Prince Sihanouk. In the future Cambodia is to be an independent, neutral, peaceful, nonaligned state. [passage omitted]

Cambodian Situation 'Changing' Despite Conflict
PM1001100989 Moscow TRUD in Russian 7 Jan 89 p 3

[Own correspondent A. Kalashnikov dispatch under the rubric "On the PRK National Day": "Peace on This House"]

[Excerpt] Phnom Penh, January—[passage omitted] The PRK is 10 years old. "We have managed to achieve a great deal over these years," PRK Prime Minister Hun Sen said in a recent interview. "Everyone remembers what we started with and what the country was like in 1979. We have put an end to hunger. Our greatest success has been, perhaps, the restoration of people's normal life."

The armed conflict in Cambodia has not ceased throughout these years. "Khmer Rouge" gangs and other opposition groupings are waging a struggle against the people's power. And yet the situation is changing. The country's destiny is no longer defined according to military reports. First, government troops and Vietnamese Armed Forces have won a number of important strategic victories over the enemy, throwing him back across the border into Thai territory. It is from there that sabotage raids are carried out, but they pose no serious threat to the people's power. The government controls the country's territory quite reliably. But the opposition armed forces are considerable and have not yet laid down their arms, and bloodshed is continuing, bringing new suffering to the people. This prompted the PRK Government to take a bold step: to declare a policy of national reconciliation. The people's power has proposed to the opposition, including the "Khmer Rouge," that it participate in political life and jointly build the country's future. It is proposed to hold a general election and, if necessary, to create a coalition government. [passage omitted]

Soviet Jobs Available for 'Skilled Filipinos'
HK0901100789 Manila Radio Veritas in Tagalog 0700 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] The Soviet Union is willing to engage the services of skilled Filipinos.

According to Philippine Ambassador to Moscow Alejandro Melchor Jr, the Soviet Union needs about 3 million laborers. Job opportunities in this country have dramatically improved because of the economic principles being enforced by Mikhail Gorbachev.

Earlier, the Soviet Union had refused to hire Filipino workers.

Near East & South Asia

Vorontsov Briefs Journalists on Afghan Withdrawal
LD1001145889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1430 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jan (TASS)—"A political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan is totally realistic and attainable on the condition that a reasonable approach to this problem is displayed by all the parties concerned," stated Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, USSR ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan. Speaking at a briefing today, he told journalists about his recent talks with Iranian and Pakistani officials as well as his conversations with representatives of various Afghan opposition groups.

Yuliy Vorontsov expressed satisfaction with results of the talks with Iranian and Pakistani figures, noting that Afghanistan's neighbors—the USSR, Pakistan, and Iran—favor solving domestic Afghan problems not militarily but politically. The main thing now, he stressed, is to stop the bloodshed in Afghanistan and start creating a government with the participation of all the parties involved in the conflict and all the political forces and groups. The convening of an interim organ—a consultative council, a peace jerga—could be the first step toward this, Yuliy Vorontsov said. He noted that in his conversations with opposition spokesmen, many had supported such a path.

The Soviet diplomat expressed regret that, following his departure from Islamabad, a representative of the "Alliance of Seven" had stated the reluctance of this group to continue the meetings with the Soviet side. If the "Alliance of Seven" does not wish to hold talks with the Kabul authorities either, then this can only mean that it is embarking on the road of continuing the war and is taking on the entire responsibility for this. Yuliy Vorontsov gained the impression that the refusal to continue the dialogue had been made not voluntarily but under pressure from those forces which do not conceal their intention to overthrow the Kabul government by force of arms. "The blood and suffering of the Afghan people will lie on them. They are not interested in the destiny of the Afghan people," he said.

Yuliy Vorontsov stressed that "the Soviet Union leaves the door to the talks open and is ready to continue to promote the quick and successful completion of the talks on a political settlement in Afghanistan."

Replying to questions from journalists concerning the fulfillment of the schedule for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, he said that circumstances could arise in which "the Soviet Union will be unable to do in the very near future what we have, in principle, decided to do."

Further on Vorontsov Briefing

LD1001204189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] A briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists, which was addressed by Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs and Soviet ambassador to Afghanistan, was held at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center in Moscow today. He said, in part:

[Begin Vorontsov recording] The talks in Islamabad, Tehran, and Rome demonstrated that a political settlement to the Afghan problem is perfectly realistic and attainable as long as a reasonable approach is shown by all sides. The main, central task at present is that the Afghans themselves set up a government on a broad representative basis, in which all the opposing groups and all the main political forces of that country are represented. At the same time there can be no denying the obvious truth that such a government can be set up only after an end to the bloodshed, an end to the war, and the establishment of peace in the country.

The cease-fire from 1 January of this year throughout the whole territory of Afghanistan, proclaimed by the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan and supported by the Soviet Union, has become a most important step, opening up the broadest possibilities for the whole development of the Afghan situation in proceeding along a path of constructive, inter-Afghan talks.

I would particularly like to point out that all Afghanistan's neighbors—the Soviet Union, Iran, and Pakistan—are now in agreement, and of the firm opinion that there can be no military solution, and that there can only be a political solution to the Afghan question.

Our dialogue, including that with representatives of the Alliance of Seven and the Alliance of Eight, was about specific details, about the attainment by all Afghans of a broadly based representative government through the implementation of the idea of the convocation of an intermediate, let us say an initial body—a consultative council or a peace jerqa—in which all Afghan political parties and groupings would be represented.

In our conversations with the representatives of the two alliances and the former king and his entourage, we, for our part, stressed the entire time that there is no need to continue the bloodshed, if all sides now understand the need to gather together and set up the initial bodies, which would then lead to the creation of a broad-based government in Afghanistan. Why, then, is there now a need for people to be killed, for Afghans to be killed, if a way toward a political settlement can already be seen? We have not received a reasonable response from either the Alliance of Seven or the Alliance of Eight.

To sum up, I would like to say that as a result of numerous contacts, the possibility looms for a transition toward a real political settlement, were it not for resistance from certain circles interested only in continuing the war. In this connection one can only express regret that following our departure from Islamabad, and after an understanding had been reached that where necessary our contacts with representatives of the opposition would be continued, someone compelled Prof Mojadeddi, a representative of the Alliance of Seven, to issue an unexpected statement to the effect that they no longer wish to continue meeting with Soviet representatives.

Of course, if the Alliance of Seven does not wish to meet with us any more this may not be such a great loss, since the main thing is that meetings be held and accords reached among the Afghans themselves. If, instead of meetings with us, they switch to meetings among themselves, between the government of the Republic of Afghanistan and representatives of the opposition, that's fine. If their activities are guided in this direction I believe that this will lead to concrete results.

But if they do not wish to have contacts directly with the government of President Najibullah this will mean only one thing: They are choosing the path of continuing the war. The fact that the representatives of the opposition did not support President Najibullah's proposal on a cease-fire, and did not follow his example, is already indicative. But if they continue to reject a political solution to the question this will mean only one thing: These people are interested only in war. It is obvious that they are thinking of further warming their hands on this war. In other words, they are not interested in the destiny of the Afghan people; they are interested in something else. All those who support such a view will share this responsibility for the blood of the Afghan people, which will henceforth be spilled without any apparent necessity.

We have more than once demonstrated good will and a desire to achieve a balanced and just settlement in Afghanistan. That is why we are keeping the door open to talks, and are prepared to work toward their rapid and successful conclusion. [end recording]

PRAVDA Reports Briefing

PM1101110789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Sensible Approach Needed"]

[Text] A political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan is perfectly realistic and attainable provided a sensible approach to the problem is shown by all sides. This was stated by Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and USSR ambassador to Afghanistan, at a briefing held at the USSR Foreign Ministry press

center on 10 January, where he shared with Soviet and foreign correspondents his impressions of his trip to Islamabad, Tehran, and Rome.

We held talks with the authorities in Pakistan and Iran, and held conversations with representatives of various Afghan opposition groups, he said. They showed a rapprochment of the various sides' standpoints, indicating that the Afghan question can be solved by political rather than military means. Our main objective was to act as an intermediary between the Afghan government and the opposition in finding ways to create a coalition government. These conversations showed that the creation of such a government, in which all political forces in the country could be represented, is perfectly realistic. However, this is only feasible in conditions of peace, when the war is halted. And it is precisely here that certain opposition circles refuse to make concessions.

The ambassador expressed regret that following his departure from Islamabad a representative of the "Alliance of Seven" had stated that grouping was unwilling to continue meeting with the Soviet side. As the "Alliance of Seven" does not wish to hold talks with the Kabul authorities either, that means that it is set on continuing the war and assumes all responsibility for this. You get the impression that the rejection of further dialogue was not made voluntarily but under pressure from those forces which do not disguise their intention to overthrow the Kabul government by force of arms.

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan will continue their efforts to achieve a political solution to the Afghan problem, and will always keep the doors to talks open, Yu.M. Vorontsov stressed in his conclusion.

Vorontsov Notes Support for Najibullah

LD1101150889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1415 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jan, (TASS)—A political settlement to the Afghan problem is fully realistic and achievable on condition that all representatives of Afghan political forces are granted the opportunity to take an equal part in determining their country's destiny, said Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs and USSR ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan, in a conversation with a TASS diplomatic correspondent.

Speaking of the intentions of certain opposition forces to continue toward armed struggle, Yuliy Vorontsov noted that "the opposition is building its calculations on the assumption that, as soon as the Soviet troops leave Afghanistan, the regime in Kabul will collapse and the Afghan leaders will pack their bags and go abroad. But one must not believe that what one desires is something real."

The present leader of Afghanistan, President Najibullah, is in power; he is supported by a substantial part of the Afghan people and has a political platform that is attractive to many Afghans, considers the Soviet diplomat. Kabul advocates the creation of a coalition government on the broadest base, including representatives of the "seven", the "eight," the former King Zahir Shah, and the main thing—Kabul wants peace for all Afghans. It is very important to obtain peace after 9 years of war, stressed Yuliy Vorontsov.

The Soviet Union is "leaving the door open to talks and is ready to continue to promote their speedy and successful completion on a political settlement in Afghanistan," siad Yuliy Vorontsov.

Najibullah Comments on Vorontsov Consultations

PM1001140989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "In Favor of a Political Settlement"]

[Text] Kabul, 9 Jan—Speaking on local television, President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan dwelt on the results of the talks held by Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and Soviet ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan, in Tehran and Islamabad. The president highly appraised the Soviet efforts to find ways to achieve peace in Afghanistan.

Talking about Yu.M. Vorontsov's meetings in Tehran, Najibullah pointed out that the Iranian leaders and representatives of the Afghan opposition "Alliance of Eight" based on Iranian territory approached the meetings with a sense of responsibility. For example, the leaders of the "Alliance of Eight" agreed that a coalition government must be formed in Afghanistan on the broadest possible basis and without discrimination against any political organization existing in the country. A similar attitude was taken by some members of the "Alliance of Seven" in Pakistan, and also by the prime minister and foreign minister of this state.

However, the Afghan president continued, extremist-minded leaders of the Peshawar "Alliance of Seven" reject the very idea of a peaceful settlement, openly declaring their desire for a monopoly on power. In this respect, they are opposed to a role being played by the PDPA, or by a number of opposition forces, including members of old regimes as well as the former king, in running the country.

As far as the Republic of Afghanistan is concerned, Najibullah said in conclusion, while insisting on peaceful methods of reaching a settlement, we are also prepared to continue the armed struggle in the name of the people.

Vorontsov Meets Pakistan's Bhutto 7 January

PM1001094589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Meeting With Benazir Bhutto"]

[Text] On 7 January Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and USSR ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan, met with Benazir Bhutto, prime minister of Pakistan.

Yu.M. Vorontsov handed B. Bhutto a message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

During the talks there was a thorough exchange of opinions on the prospects for the development of Soviet-Pakistani relations, as well as on a whole number of international problems of mutual interest.

The Soviet side declared the USSR's desire to develop Soviet-Pakistani cooperation in the trade and economic spheres and to strengthen interaction with Pakistan on urgent questions of contemporary international life.

B. Bhutto pointed out for her part that Pakistan is interested in further strengthening mutual understanding and cooperation with the Soviet Union in very diverse spheres.

There was an interested exchange of opinions regarding the possibility of implementing a number of economic projects in Pakistan with the Soviet Union's assistance.

Possible ways to resolve the Afghan problem, which is still marring the state of Soviet-Pakistani relations, were discussed in detail during the meeting. The Soviet side emphasized that the continuing bloodshed in Afghanistan is hindering millions of people from setting up a normal life, in Pakistan itself as well, and that it is having a negative impact not only on the situation in the region but also on the world as a whole. The Soviet Union's position on the whole package of questions concerning a settlement of the situation in Afghanistan was set forth, and special emphasis was laid on the need for a cease-fire—which would be a turning point in resolving the Afghan problem. The Pakistani prime minister was also briefed on President Najibullah's proposal for a meeting ("Peace Jirgah") of representatives of all Afghan political forces and groupings in order to lay the foundations for forming a government on a broad basis.

The Pakistani prime minister stated her country's desire to make the maximum effort to ensure a constructive and honorable settlement in Afghanistan.

The question with regard to political steps to accelerate the process of creating a government in Afghanistan on a broad basis was discussed in this context. Both sides recognized as useful the idea of convening a consultative group consisting of representatives of all Afghan political forces and groupings for this purpose in the very near future. It was deemed necessary to act vigorously and quickly.

The sides expressed a mutual interest in further continuing contacts at all levels, with a view to strengthening the two countries' interaction and mutual understanding in the sphere both of international problems and of the whole spectrum of bilateral relations.

General on Troop Withdrawal From Afghanistan

LD1001215189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2000 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Zagreb, January 10 (TANJUG)—Claims from the West that the Soviet Union has sent new troops and planes to Afghanistan are a sheer fabrication and I do not wish to enter into their motivation, Maj. Gen. Lev Borisovich Serebrov, a representative of the Soviet Army's high command in Afghanistan, said in an interview with the Zagreb weekly DANAS released here today.

A second phase in the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan will be completed on February 15 and then the last Soviet soldier will leave Afghanistan, he emphasised. The first phase has been completed: in line with the Geneva Accords, over 50 percent of the Soviet Army's limited contingent or some 50,000 troops have been pulled back within three months, Serebrov said.

"We can only say that we have replaced some units with fresh troops or that the soldiers who have served their time in the Army have gone home and that new ones have come instead," he added.

In the Soviet Union, one's military service is two years long and soldiers to leave for Afghanistan are first trained for six months at special centres in the Soviet Union and then come to Afghanistan to stay eighteen months. There have been cases enough of coming at one's own request and the morale of units is very high, Gen. Serebrov went on.

Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan do not take either narcotics or strong drinks, he claimed.

Refusing to make any comparison between U.S. experience in Vietnam and Soviet experience in Afghanistan, Gen. Serebrov pointed out anyway that the American troops were conquerors, whereas the Soviet troops do not have such an aim and did not have it, but fulfill their international debt to the country with which they have bilateral agreements and intergovernment treaties as early as since 1921. The Soviet intentions have ever been and are strictly defense-making now and they have appreciably reduced their activities of late, he said.

Viewed from a military viewpoint, despite all Soviet diplomatic efforts, the opposition forces in Afghanistan are intensifying their military activities and their acts of sabotage and terrorism for the set purpose of demoralizing the population, Gen. Serebrov cautioned.

Noticed among the Mojaheddin have been U.S., British and Chinese instructors. He called as groundless speculations Western press allegations that on the Soviet side in Afghanistan officers of the Warsaw Treaty countries, too, have stayed. In contravention of the Geneva Accords, 580 attacks on Soviet units have been launched.

In order to cope with such intensified activities, the Soviet Union has delivered additional and up-to-date arms to the armed Afghan forces under the above-mentioned 1921 treaty, Maj. Gen. Serebrov said in conclusion.

One of the three Soviet main generals in Kabul (in addition to Gromov and Zakharov), Serebrov is a typical representative of the generations of younger Soviet generals who gained their experience in the mountains of Afghanistan, DANAS wrote. He was born in the town of Voronezh in 1939, graduated from the Lenin Military-Political Academy in 1970 and completed his studies at the General Staff Academy of the Soviet Armed Forces in 1983.

Roundup of Developments in Afghanistan Published
PM1001141189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
10 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Roundup by Yevg. Bay in Moscow, D. Meshchaninov in Kabul, and A. Blinov in Washington under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Where is the Stumbling Block? Development of Events in Afghanistan."]

[Text] Talks have ended in Islamabad between the Soviet delegation headed by First Deputy Foreign Minister Yu.M. Vorontsov, the USSR ambassador to Afghanistan, and the Pakistani leaders. There has also been a new round of talks between Soviet representatives and leaders of the armed Afghan opposition. The mujahidin leaders have rejected the proposal of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan on ending hostilities 1 January. Yu.M. Vorontsov said that even if the opposition does not come to a compromise political settlement the present Afghan government will hold out. Under these conditions, he noted, the Soviet Union will continue to render it aid even after the withdrawal of its troops.

The talks have "reached an impasse," the British newspaper THE TIMES writes. THE GUARDIAN points out that "too little time is left to reach agreement with the new government on the definitive withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan."

AFP has reported that the Afghan armed opposition will not take part in talks with the Soviet Union until the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, S. Mojadeddi, who has assumed leadership of the "Alliance of Seven," said at a press conference in Islamabad.

According to S. Mojadeddi, "the main stumbling block" was the demand that the new government should include, on a broad basis, representatives of the PDPA.

Under the prevailing conditions there can be no military solution of the Afghan problem, Yu.M. Vorontsov said, explaining the USSR's position. It can only by resolved by political means—by creating a government on a broad base with the participation of all political forces involved in the conflict. In this connection the Soviet spokesman commented positively on the idea of creating a consultative council which would administer the country in the period after the Soviet troops' withdrawal. At the same time this council should include representatives of all strata of Afghan society, including the PDPA. "If the council represents only one side, the situation will not change," Yu.M. Vorontsov said.

The mujahidin leaders have recently stated frequently that the Soviet Union's talks with various opposition groups are leading to the splitting of the "intransigents'" parties. But attention is drawn to the fact that leaders of the "Alliance of Seven" based in Peshawar, and of the eight parties operating on Iranian territory, both took part in the talks in Islamabad.

All the talk about a "split" is, to all appearances, designed to conceal primarily the inability of the opposition itself to put forward any constructive settlement program. On the eve of the Islamabad talks the mujahidin leaders, seeking to elaborate a single approach to the talks with the Soviet Union, held a 2-day session of the so-called supreme council in which 140 representatives of parties and religious figures took part. The council decided that the holding of elections in the refugee camps and on the territory of Afghanistan itself should be deferred. The official explanation was that fighting is under way on the country's territory. But, as the London newspaper THE FINANCIAL TIMES points out, the most likely reason for this decision was the opposition leaders' fear that the assembly would include too large a number of field commanders (it is they who bear the brunt of the military operations and control a number of regions of the country) who would simply dissolve the Peshawar alliance. As a result the "seven" would lose any influence on the determination of Afghanistan's future.

There is another reason: The mujahidin leaders openly admit that their inability to take even one major Afghan city is caused by fear that they "will be unable to satisfy the needs of the civilian population" (in other words they will be unable to resolve the complex economic and social tasks with which, despite the combat conditions, the PDPA leadership is as a whole coping). What then can be said of the claims of the leaders of the "alliance" to full power in the country?

"The prospects for a political settlement of the war which has lasted 9 years are clouded primarily by the contradictions among the resistance parties themselves," is the conclusion of THE FINANCIAL TIMES. "Unfortunately, in the absence of a political settlement, fresh bloodshed will be inevitable."

The leaders of the "intransigents," unable to put forward a political settlement program, have refused to accept the cease-fire proposal. As Yu.M. Vorontsov noted at the press conference, by rejecting the peace initiatives the leaders of the "Alliance of Seven" are assuming responsibility for the death of every Afghan who perishes as a result of the continuing war.

It is reported from Kabul that hostilities are not ceasing in many of the country's provinces. BAKHTAR agency has reported that in response to the extremists' attacks Afghan troops have struck against them in Nangarhar, Qandahar, and Farah provinces.

AFP reported the stepping up of fighting around the very large Afghan city of Jalalabad. Citing a mujahidin spokesman, it reported that the armed opposition had captured Kuz Konar [Shiveh], 25 km northeast of Jalalabad.

At the same time the IZVESTIYA editorial office has no confirmation of the Western news agencies' numerous reports that panic has begun in Kabul, and that the mass exodus of the members of the families of the PDPA leaders from the country is to be observed.

There is no panic, no mass evacuation, our correspondent reported from Kabul. It is true that the food and electricity situation remains very tense. This winter there has been a lot of snow and there have been several avalanches in the region of the Salang pass, making it difficult for transport to move along the highway linking Kabul with Hayraton, near the Soviet border. Because of the heavy frost—at night the thermometer drops to below 15 degrees [below zero]—water has frozen in many wells and there is a shortage of logs. But here, he said, the situation in the city as a whole is calm; there is virtually no shelling.

Attention is drawn to the fact that in recent days forecasts that the opposition will take power in Kabul immediately after the Soviet troops' withdrawal have virtually disappeared from the Western press. U.S. newspapers and television, our own correspondent reports from Washington, have published no commentaries of their own on the talks in Islamabad. Television has in general bypassed this subject, even in its Sunday observers' talks.

For many years the United States insisted on just one thing—the Soviet troops' withdrawal—our correspondent pointed out. It made no constructive proposals for settling the Afghan problem. Official Washington cannot completely control the mujahidin and is unable to work out what stance to take with regard to Afghanistan's future. Hence its complete silence on the content of the talks and the stories, which continue to appear only here and there, about how the Soviet Union is leaving "millions of mines" in Afghanistan or is "using chemical weapons against military and nonmilitary targets." (THE WASHINGTON POST writes this in a recent issue.)

The development of events in Afghanistan convinces us yet again that the Afghans themselves will resolve the conflict. For its part the Soviet Union is making every effort to promote an end to the bloodshed and the creation of a genuine coalition government in that country. Then as for Afghanistan's neighbors, which are actively influencing the opposition, Yu.M. Vorontsov said that he had formed the impression that, like the Soviet Union, Iran and Pakistan support a political settlement and have the same view on ways to resolve the Afghan problem. Considering this factor, it is scarcely possible to state categorically that the talks have entered an impasse.

Women Urge Release of POW's in Afghanistan

LD0901150489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Excerpts] The fate of Soviet internationalist servicemen taken prisoner or missing in Afghanistan is of concern to all Soviet people. Using various government and public channels, everything possible is being done to establish where our lads are, and to secure their return home.

Another link in this chain is a presentation of letters by women from Novosibirsk and Nikolayev to UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar. The official ceremony to hand over the letters was held at the UN Information center in Moscow. The messages, signed by almost 650 women, express profound anxiety over the fates of their sons, husbands and brothers. [passage omitted]

Pukhova, chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee, also passed on her letter addressed to Perez de Cuellar, which expresses on behalf of Soviet women the hope that the cease-fire decision of 1 January this year by Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, will become an important step in the cause of creating the most favorable situation possible for achieving a speedy, just, and all-embracing Afghan settlement.

Officer Responds to Question on Amnesty for POW's

PM1001160589 Moscow TRUD in Russian 10 Jan 89 p 3

["Let Us Discuss" feature comprising TRUD introduction, letter from reader Matvey Ryabushkin, and reply by Colonel Valentin Pererva]

[Text] The TRUD editorial office receives from all corners of the country numerous anguished and alarmed letters about the fate of servicemen who, by force of various circumstances, are in the hands of Afghan oppositionists. People express support for the Soviet Government's decision that all "Afghan" servicemen returning home from captivity or from foreign countries can enjoy in full the political, social, and other civil rights envisaged by the USSR Constitution.

There are, however, some readers—and this is only natural—who have a different view. One indication of this is the following letter from a war and labor veteran and 2d group invalid. The editorial office asked Soviet Army Colonel and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. Pererva, lecturer at the V.I. Lenin Military Political Academy, to reply to the letter.

Esteemed Editorial Office!

I read in your newspaper a report on a press conference about a meeting between journalists and former Soviet Army servicemen who have experienced dushman captivity and indoctrination by Western intelligence services. The report's headline quoted the words spoken by one of them, N. Ryzhkov: "The main point is that I am back home."

Fate decreed that I, like many of my peers, had to carry the burden of two terrible wars—first the Finnish War, and then the Great Patriotic War. I lost many good friends on the fronts of these wars. During the cruel clashes with the enemies they did not and could not think of captivity for the sake of saving their own lives. Our orders were: Do not surrender to the enemy under any circumstances, even under the most critical ones. Captivity is equivalent to death, both physically and morally. When there was no other way out the guys blew themselves up with hand grenades, and if they had ran out of grenades they used their rifles or submachine guns. In both circumstances, we were driven by just one thought: How to make the enemy pay the highest price for our lives. We also were young, we also were eagerly awaited back home. But we could not, we did not have the right to opt for treason for the sake of possibly meeting our relatives again. Nobody—brothers or sisters, comrades in arms, fathers, or even mothers—would have forgiven us for this.

So it is that I, my gray hair almost white, can forgive neither N. Ryzhkov nor O. Khlyan for letting themselves be captured. I have three sons; they are all already middle-aged and at work. Reading the report about this—I would say unusual and painfully boring—news conference, I placed myself mentally time and time again in the position of the parents of those now former soldiers. How many times I asked myself: Could you forgive your son if he had committed such a crime? Each time I thought: No, never! I cannot forgive the dubious behavior of N. Ryzhkov, who abandoned his military unit of his own accord, I cannot forgive O. Khlyan for letting himself be captured....

It would be interesting to find out whether their consciences awake when they recall the recent past? I doubt it. What else can one think when reading the following statement by N. Ryzhkov at the news conference: "The degree of punishment was of no great importance to me. The main point is that I am back home."

I would like to ask him: Sonny, what have you brought back, what sort of person are you now, what do you have to bring joy to your relatives' hearts, how are you going to explain your actions to your comrades?

Our Soviet justice is humane; it has forgiven their crimes. But will they be forgiven by those who died the death of the brave on the battlefield against the Afghan extremists, those who are lying wounded in hospitals, those who are fighting now in performance of their international duty? This must be borne in mind by everyone to whom our people entrust combat weapons.

[Signed] Matvey Ryabushkin, Baku

Esteemed Comrade Ryabushkin!

You raise some very complex issues in your letter. It seems to me that even though the tone of your letter is rather sharp, and your assessments rather categorical, you are nonetheless prepared to listen to, and to a certain extent perhaps even agree with, the arguments of someone who thinks somewhat differently about all this.

I shall leave aside the juridical aspect of the problem, since it has been covered in sufficient detail by top-level specialists in our press. And as I understand it, you are perturbed not so much by the juridical but mainly by the moral aspect of the question. Like an old soldier, you ask blunt and harsh questions of former Soviet soldiers who have experienced captivity and wanderings abroad. You are, of course, correct in making no allowances for their youth: Someone who takes up arms and swears loyalty to the motherland and his soldier's duty can and must be held responsible for his actions under the law and the dictates of his conscience.

It seems to me, however, that these questions demand a calm, considered, and well argued discussion, a discussion presupposing a desire for mutual understanding and respect for the opponent's opinion, and precluding any name-calling or mutual recriminations. Let me try to express my opinions as a military teacher and father, without of course claiming that my opinion is infallible, or that my grasp of the essence of the matter is comprehensive.

I would like to begin with a few questions of my own, also asked without beating about the bush. True enough, it would probably be better if we all pondered the replies to them together. How many Soviet soldiers experienced the bitterness of enemy captivity during the Great Patriotic War, for the victory in which we are boundlessly grateful to all who, in one way or another, brought the collapse of fascism nearer? Historians today give the total (not yet final, I believe) number of captured Soviet soldiers and officers as 5,734,528 men. This huge number cannot but have a stunning effect. Is it possible to class all these people as traitors to the motherland, as renegades?

The circumstances of their captivity, as well as their subsequent experiences, were extremely different. Very many of them, having gone through all the circles of the hell of fascist concentration camps, and having withstood everything, later ended up in "their own" Soviet camps, where destiny again brought them the lot of extremely grim trials. There were different sorts of prisoners of war not only among privates and officers, but even among Soviet generals. Suffice it to recall the hero General Karbyshev and the traitor Vlasov.

I envy your firmness of spirit when, without the slightest hesitation, you declare that you could not, under any circumstances, forgive your son for committing such a crime. But people are, after all, different, and the human organism's reserves, though great, are not endless. And one more point: Why not show more compassion for the feelings of mothers?

You ask: "Will they be forgiven by those who died the death of the brave in the battlefield against the Afghan extremists?" I think that tact alone should stop us disturbing the ashes of dead Soviet soldiers. Eternal glory and honor to them! It is better for us to show concern and attention for their families and relatives. The dead cannot give us an answer, but their relatives will hardly feel better if we today start punishing their former fellow servicemen in their name. The Afghan veterans, especially those who have been wounded in battles and those who are still fighting, would, more likely than not, experience complex and contradictory feelings about the problem we are discussing, and probably have their own opinions about it. Even though this opinion is, at least partly, already known to us through the part played by organizations of Soviet veteran soldiers who have served in Afghanistan in the extremely difficult efforts to bring all our guys back home.

Our government has proclaimed the priority of universal values to the whole world on behalf of the Soviet people. And life is the supreme value of mankind, as well as of every individual. The whole of life still lies ahead of the young people about whom we are talking today. Its future development will depend in particular on our relations with them. Let us think this over together: Would it be better for them and for our country if, for example, we were to fence them off with universal hatred and scorn or, even worse, sentence them to a long spell "inside," as was done initially, back in the "pre-restructuring period," to N. Ryzhkov? Or maybe they ought to be punished "as an example to others"? I do not think that such an "example" would produce the expected results. And, furthermore, since we are already on the subject of universal values, let us recall that prisoners of war have always, even in the harshest of times, been exchanged at the termination of hostilities and they have, as a rule, yearned to return home. We do, after all, wish to launch a new "era of charity," and to revive people's and society's humane feelings and relations, which are in increasingly acute "short supply." The words "charity" and "humaneness" must be followed by actions, behavior, and a way of life.

This does not, of course, mean absolving treason, failure to perform one's patriotic and international duty, or breaches of the military oath. On the contrary, the dramatic experience of our young compatriots affirms with renewed strength and from a different aspect the immutability of these moral and legal norms.

But let us not forget, either, that some "well-wishers" in the West urge our guys who end up there to become "non-returnees" by holding before them the menacing prospect of inevitable punishment in the form of various terms of imprisonment or at least moral ostracism by the public. I would once again address your own experience of life and the memory of that war. Tell me, how many of our compatriots failed to return home from captivity because of what we now know to have been perfectly justified fears of repression? This is another sad statistic, which we will evidently never learn. But each individual represents a life, the sorrow of relatives, of a mother and father, wife and children, bride and friend who did not live to see their loved one again. To what extent did the fatherland benefit from this enforced wandering in foreign parts for totally innocent people? Is it worth repeating the mistakes of the distant past? Especially as nobody can cancel the trial of former soldiers by their own conscience.

Let me conclude with the words of USSR General Prosecutor A. Sukharev that "even those who have committed grave offenses against our fatherland will be amnestied on the basis of the supreme considerations of socialist humanism." So let us all together take the trouble once more to give some serious thought to these "supreme considerations."

[Signed] Valentin Pererva, Moscow

Britain's Howe Cited on Near East Settlement
PM1101101089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Krivopalov report: "'You Cannot Evade the Conference Table....' British Diplomacy for a Peaceful Compromise in the Near East"]

[Text] London—Twice during his tour of Near East countries UK Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe appealed to Tel Aviv to be reasonable. First in Kuwait, and later in Saudi Arabia.

"Time is not on the side of those who think they can evade the conference table," Sir Geoffrey said. "The PLO leadership has taken a step. I am trying to persuade Israel to respond accordingly."

Correspondents who talked with Britain's number one diplomat in Kuwait report that he described Y. 'Arafat's declaration in Geneva as "open, clear, and indisputable." And the minister added that Britain wants "to see progress in the realization of the Palestinian people's desire for self-determination."

These highly significant phrases made a favorable impression in international circles—at any event, on those who are committed to a peaceful settlement of this protracted and dangerous conflict. As for Tel Aviv—they were received with open hostility there.

The new foreign minister in Shamir's cabinet, Moshe Arens, was quick to reject out of hand the recommendations of the head of the Foreign Office. This speedy

response to a long-distance appeal by a high-ranking representative of London undoubtedly can only further undermine the international positions of Israel, which engages in terrorism in the occupied Arab lands. And this is perceptible not only in the Near East, where people traditionally listen to the British state, but also in West European capitals. Intransigence and adherence to the pathological habit of confrontation are now clearly not in accordance with the changing world.

It is no secret that the UK Government plays an important role in EEC affairs. And the "Common Market" has recently shown a desire not only to concern itself with economic cooperation among the countries belonging to the community, but also to examine major political problems jointly. This was evident, for instance, at the recent Rhodes summit meeting of the "twelve." The Near East situation was discussed there too. The EEC instructed a special "trio"—Greece, Spain, and France—to carry out a round of meetings with the leadership of Israel and the neighboring Arab states.

While supporting this coordinated decision, M. Thatcher's government is also taking its own steps in the direction set formerly, as is shown by Sir G. Howe's statements. Among London journalists there is no doubt that W. Waldegrave, British minister of state for foreign affairs, will soon meet with a member of the PLO leadership in Tunis, possibly Y. 'Arafat himself. The Foreign Office has held such contacts at a lower level before.

Will the Tel Aviv rulers be able to evade the conference table? Be that as it may, this course of action is now doomed.

Perfilyev Cited on Ties with PLO, Israel

LD1101100689 Kuwait KUNA in English 0814 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Paris, Jan 11 (KUNA)—An official Soviet spokesman has greeted Washington's decision to open direct dialogue with the PLO and said the Soviet Union would insist on the PLO's participation in any official Middle East peace talks.

Acting Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev said the U.S.-PLO dialogue which started last month in Tunis was "a very important step" toward a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Perfilyev made the remarks in a statement to KUNA last night in Paris where he is attending an international conference on banning chemical weapons.

The Soviet spokesman commended the latest peace moves by the Palestine Liberation Organization including its recognition of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and its renunciation of terrorism.

But he added that his country still wanted the PLO to go into dialogue and negotiations "with all countries of the region" including Syria "because we insist on the PLO's participation in any official talks aimed at forging a peaceful solution for the Middle East crisis."

Syria, one of the Soviet Union's closest friends in the Arab world, has been at odds with the PLO since 1983 over PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat's approach to a settlement of the Palestinian question.

Soviet efforts and a brief visit to the Syrian capital by 'Arafat last April have failed, however, to break the ice between Damascus and the PLO leadership.

On Moscow's ties with the Zionist state, the spokesman echoed Soviet leaders in stressing that relations between the two sides would be closely associated with a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict and what Israel would do for the achievement of that end.

But he appeared reluctant to discuss what moves Israel will have to make to show its readiness to be a peace partner.

The Soviet Union broke off diplomatic ties with Israel in the wake of the Arab-Israeli war in 1967 but official contacts including exchange of consular teams last year appeared designed to clear the way for possible revival of diplomatic representation between the two sides.

Moscow now hinges its approval of such a move to Israel's acceptance to participate in a proposed international peace conference on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Asked to comment on the insistence of the Arab group at the Paris chemical weapons conference on linking prohibition of chemicals to a ban on nuclear weapons, since Israel now has both, the spokesman said "we believe the conference must discuss all types of weapons."

He added that special emphasis should be placed on the need for cooperation among nations in peaceful areas instead of having one country supplying the other with destructive and lethal arms like chemical weapons.

Israeli, U.S. Attitudes Toward PLO Analyzed

LD1101000089 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

Another country has established official contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO). A first meeting of representatives of the Netherlands' Government and the PLO leadership was held in Tunis. The step taken by the Netherlands is part of the European Community's peace initiative in the region.

In this connection it would be appropriate to recall France's decision to elevate the PLO official mission in Paris, the fact that chairman of the PLO Executive Committee Yasir 'Arafat was received by top leaders of a number of West European countries and that the United States started a political dialogue with the PLO. The governments of 90 countries have already recognised the Palestinian state proclaimed by the Palestine National Council. A resolution calling for an undelayed convocation of an international conference on the Middle East, endorsed by the special session on the United Nations General Assembly, reflected the recognition by the international community of the Palestinian people's right to the creation of an independent state in their own land, the sincere striving of the PLO for peace and security in the region. There is every sign of the widening international recognition of the PLO.

There is no doubt that all this is a result of the manifestation of realism in policy, of new thinking of the PLO leadership. The Soviet Union emphasised more than once that all the parties involved in the Middle East conflict should take into consideration the realities of the situation in the region, should really ensure freedom of choice, agree on guarantees for mutual security, respect views and stands of others, be tolerant and learn to live together in peace and mutual understanding.

Tel Aviv cannot afford to disregard the growth of the prestige of the PLO in the world. Tel Aviv has already landed in isolation in the international arena, and the growing number of people in Israel favour dialogue with Palestinians. Therefore it is not accidental that the so-called "peace plan" of Yitzhaq Shamir's cabinet emerged. This could only be welcomed if this plan was aimed in earnest at a quest for a just settlement in the region. But going by statements of members of the new Israeli cabinet, the chief elements of the plan are fully in keeping with the obstructionist course that was conducted by the previous Israeli government. What is more, Yitzhaq Shamir keeps on saying that Israel refuses from [as received] all negotiations with the PLO since Israel regards it as terroristic. And Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens said outright that he sees his main task in preventing the creation of a Palestinian state. Therefore all talk about the so-called "peace plan" is nothing more than manoeuvre.

Another aspect deserves to be mentioned. Though the USA had entered a dialogue with the PLO, Washington says that its contacts with the PLO do not mean the recognition of either that organisation or of the fact of the proclamation of the Palestinian state. It should not be forgotten that there are influential forces in the USA which act at one with Tel Aviv and intend to torpedo the efforts aimed at the solution of the Palestinian problem.

Meanwhile it is quite obvious that the main reason why the dangerous seat of tension persists in the Middle East is that this problem remains unresolved. An international conference of all the parties concerned, including the Arab people of Palestine, could become a universal and flexible forum at which the Arab-Israeli conflict could at last be settled.

Israelis Urged To Sign Nonproliferation Treaty

TA0801204889 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1730 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Israel has nuclear weapons in its possession, and it is now formulating a strategy for their use in war conditions. This opinion was expressed by Prof Louis Renee Bresch [name as heard], an American scientist who arrived on Thursday at the international symposium dedicated to the issue of nuclear developments and international relations [not further specified]. As pointed out by Prof Bresch, the Israeli nuclear option has become a destabilizing element in the Middle East, which encourages the Arab states to search for an answer to the Israeli challenge and develop unconventional weapons systems of their own.

The American scientist's claim is hard to refute. It is known that Israel refused to sign the treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and to allow international committees to closely examine the work taking place in its nuclear centers. The Western press has reported that in one of these centers, in the Stein Institute in Dimona, the Israelis have developed no less than 100 nuclear charges. Israel's leaders continue to develop the nuclear option as part of their political-military strategy, despite warnings by scientists that a nuclear arms race in the Middle East would endanger the very existence of the State of Israel.

Several Israeli politicians have further stated Israel's readiness to put nuclear weapons into operational use against the Arabs at any given moment. One cannot forget Rabbi Kahane's declaration that the Israeli Government should be ready to use its nuclear potential whenever it sees fit. It is possible that these declarations, made by the mad extreme right-wing leader who failed in the last elections, should not be taken seriously. But how then should we treat remarks by Ari'el Sharon, Moshe Arens, and Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir himself, who have said that they are willing to do anything for Israel's security, even use nuclear weapons? These men hold strong positions in the Israeli government and their remarks must be taken seriously. Even more so if we consider that when they speak of Israel's security they mean, first and formost, the continued occupation and the policy of continued pressure in the area.

All signs, however, show that the public is considering the possible grave consequences of the nuclear option. This can be seen in the expanding activity of the protest movement against the nuclear pretense of the Israeli top echelon. The Israeli peace committee has called on the public to fight for turning the Middle East into an area free of nuclear weapons. Israel, the peace seekers believe,

must immediately sign the treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons for its own safety, and for the sake of peace in the Middle East and in the whole world.

We are certain that reality itself—the prolonged Israeli-Arab conflict—prove that Israel's safety lies in direct relation with the security of the Arab countries. If the ruling circles in Israel continue their past policy of making the area more tense, of ignoring the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians, of continuing the arms race, and of developing new types of weapons—including nuclear ones—there will be no way left for peace.

In the USSR it is believed that the time has come for the Israeli people and the Arab peoples to learn how to live in peace with each other. There is not, and there cannot be, any other way to ensure their safety.

Larijani Sees 'New Page' in Soviet-Iran Ties

LD0701130589 Moscow TASS in English 1202 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] Nicosia January 7 TASS—Imam Khomeyni's message to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev ushers in a new stage in the Iran-USSR relations. According to IRNA news agency, this was stated at a news conference in Tehran by Deputy Foreign Minister of Iran Mohammed Javad Larijani, who accompanied Ayatollah Javadi Amoli, a personal representative of leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran Imam Ruhollah Moussavi Khomeyni, during his recent visit to Moscow.

Larijani said that there are no restrictions in mutually beneficial economic relations between Iran and the USSR on religious grounds, and expressed the hope that in the current year the volume of such relations would treble as compared with the previous year.

Touching upon the Soviet side's attitude to the Iran-Iraq peace negotiations, he said that the Soviet Union advocated full compliance with the U.N. Security Council Resolution 598 which provides for an end to the Iran-Iraq armed conflict.

Imam Khomeyni's message to the Soviet leader is his first personal message to a head of state. It turns a new page in Iranian-Soviet relations on a summit level, Larijani said.

Turkmen Company Concludes Trade Pact With Iran

PM1001165189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Kuleshov account of interview with an Iranian businessman under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Interview": "Neighbors Must Trade!... Masu'd Dehqan, Director of a Major Iranian Company, Believes"]

[Text] An agreement on trade cooperation between the import-export company Sharq Barter Trade Group, which is well known in the business world, and "Turkmenpotrebsoyuz" has been signed in Ashkhabad. The agreement makes provision for the implementation, as of the beginning of the current year, of a number of deals, and the conclusion of long-term contracts for the import and export of goods which both sides are interested in buying.

Among the diverse commercial questions discussed during the talks that were held, the possibility of opening a special store in Ashkhabad selling Iranian goods was also examined.

"This visit to Ashkhabad is my first, but I hope it is not the last," said Masu'd Dehqan, in an interview with your correspondent. "I am confident that we will establish reliable business contacts with 'Turkmenpotrebsoyuz.' I regard this firm as a serious trading partner, which has at its disposal all the necessary opportunities for mutually advantageous trade with us. Do you not think it strange that despite the long border which we share with Turkmenistan, we do not trade.... How is this possible?..."

[Kuleshov] "In your view, what are the prospects for the development of long-term trade cooperation between your company and Soviet partners?" I asked Masu'd Dehqan.

[Dehqan] "The reserves are considerable. From my 6 years' experience of trade with the Soviet Union I know that your country produces many goods of particular interest to Iranian buyers. I believe that Soviet trade organizations, too, are interested in a number of goods which Iran has to offer. We have been supplying you for several years now with henna, black hair dye, saffron, and dried fruit. Our import-export company produces and sells knitwear. Incidentally, many of our company's goods were represented at the recent Iranian exhibition in Moscow. I am hoping to open a trade mission of the Sharq Barter Trade Group in Moscow shortly, where samples of all our goods will be on display. Prior to coming to Ashkhabad I visited a number of Soviet cities with a view to establishing direct business contacts with Soviet trade firms. As a result a number of agreements were signed on the purchase of industrial rubber and electronic goods and spare parts in the Soviet Union. A contract for the delivery to Iran of motorcycle parts was signed with 'Sovavtoeksport.' We will assemble the motorcycles locally and sell them to our consumers.

"In Turkmenistan we would like to begin above all with cross-border trade, which is only just getting off the ground. It is no secret," Masu'd Dehqan went to to say, "that my company would not say no to the purchase of various construction materials and cement from Turkmenistan. We know that highly productive cement industry plants are in operation here. We would not say no to importing cotton either. We are also interested in reliable air conditioners, refrigerators, motorcycles, household appliances, articles made of natural silk, and hand-made carpets. You know, of course, that around a million Turkmens are living in our country, and they would be delighted to acquire a hand-made carpet or mat, or the very smart head scarfs made in the Soviet republic.

"It is necessary to trade!" Masu'd Dehqan said in conclusion. "And who needs to trade more than close neighbors like us? Let us make a joint effort to ensure that our customs services, which have so far been idle, spring into life and start working at full capacity, that Soviet buyers come to Teheran more often, and that our business relations are strengthened."

Consular Affairs Consultations Pursued With Iran

WA0901131989 Kabul THE KABUL TIMES in English 27 Nov 88 p 3

[Text] Moscow Nov. 25, (TASS)—A briefing at the press centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry on Wednesday was told that Soviet-Iranian working consultations on consular affairs were held on November 14-17 in Tehran. Victor Zelenov, chief of the consular directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, and A. Zifan, director-general for consular affairs of the Foreign Ministry of the Islamic Republic of Iran, took part in the working consultations.

A wide range of problems related to the present state of and prospects for the development of the bilateral relations in the consular area has been discussed. The sides have agreed to issue visas to citizens of the two countries as promptly as possible. An agreement has also been reached to hold bilateral consultations on consular affairs on a regular basis.

The consultations were held in a constructive spirit, in the atmosphere of mutual understanding and goodneighbourliness.

Rival Indian Communist Parties Ponder Unity

PM0901120789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent O. Kitsenko dispatch: "Road To Unity"]

[Text] Delhi, 5 Jan—C. Rajeswara Rao, general secretary of the Communist Party of India [CPI] National Council, welcomed the statement by E.M.S. Namboodiripad, general secretary of the Communist Party of India-Marxist [CPI-M] Central Committee, that the time has come for unity between the two parties. (The split in the single Communist Party of India took place in 1964—O.K.). In the published summary of his conversation with a PATRIOT correspondent, he indicated the need to create coordinating committees at district level made up of the representatives of both parties, in order to discuss questions of unity.

Pointing that the CPI-M had for the first time responded to the CPI's proposals on unity made in 1979, C. Rajeswara Rao expressed the conviction that the main questions of national significanace could be resolved during the process of securing unity between the two parties. In C. Rajeswara Rao's opinion, the unification of left-wing trade unions is one of the main questions that should be resolved in the course of talks between the two parties. He said that a start should be made by uniting the Indian Trade Union Center with the All-India Trade Union Congress.

A report has come in from Trivandrum to the effect that E.M.S. Namboodiripad, general secretary of the CPI-M Central Committee, explained in a conversation with journalists that in his speech at the rally in Trivandrum 1 January he was talking about unity between the CPI-M and the CPI rather than unification.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Chebrikov Visits Ethiopia; Meets Mengistu

PM1001143789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Friendly Business Visit"]

[Text] Addis Ababa, 9 Jan—V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was in Addis Ababa 6-9 January on a friendly business visit within the framework of the regular contacts maintained between the Soviet and Ethiopian party and state leadership.

He had meetings with Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] Central Committee and president of Ethiopia, and other members of the Ethiopian leadership. V.M. Chebrikov gave the Ethiopian leader a personal message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

In the course of frank and thorough conversations they discussed the most major problems of world politics, the situation in the Horn of Africa and in and around Ethiopia, and questions of bilateral ties and cooperation.

Stressing that the process of restructuring in the Soviet Union is also helping Ethiopia, Mengistu Haile Mariam briefed his guest on the main results of the Ninth WPE Central Committee Plenum and the steps being taken to implement its directives in the sphere of political and socioeconomic development. He pointed out that these vitally important tasks that are in the interests of the broad working masses and all Ethiopia's ethnic groups have to be resolved under complex regional and domestic political conditions linked with the armed struggle against the government in the north of the country. The people of Ethiopia crave peace but are forced to take up arms to defend Ethiopian unity, independence, and dignity.

People in the Soviet Union, V.M. Chebrikov said, are in sympathy with the course adopted by the WPE Central Committee and the Ethiopian Government of strengthening society's internal stability, boosting the people's living standard, and mobilizng the masses to boost the economy under the new conditions that have arisen with the creation of the people's democratic republic. Guided

by its principled stance of supporting Ethiopia's territorial integrity, the Soviet side reacted with total understanding to what Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam said regarding the need to secure peace in Eritrea and advocates a just political solution to this problem within the framework of the multiethnic Ethiopian state. The president's words that the country's government is prepared to enter into direct talks without preliminary conditions were greeted with satisfaction. The Soviet Union is in favor of a peaceful, united, and prosperous Ethiopia.

The interlocutors noted the importance of the new constructive initiatives on a global scale expounded by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the United Nations on 7 December 1988. It was stressed that the USSR and Ethiopia intend to continue to closely cooperate in order to improve the situation in the world and organize broad democratic international cooperation in accordance with the principles of the new political thinking. The sides noted that the emergent progress in the settlement of a number of regional conflicts is having a favorable effect on the situation in the world arena as a whole.

In this respect special attention was devoted to questions of ensuring peace and stability in the area of the Horn of Africa. It was stressed that the Soviet Union supports Ethiopia's endeavor to establish relations of good-neighborliness between the countries of this region by developing dialogue based on strict observance of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and noninterference in one another's internal affairs. In the opinion of the sides, giving negotiating processes in the Horn of Africa a new boost, strengthening the atmosphere of trust in relations among Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan, and organizing cooperation between them in trade and economic and other spheres accords with the fundamental interests of their peoples.

The two sides' invariable desire to further develop and improve Soviet-Ethiopian relations on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation was expressed. Regular comradely contacts between Soviet and Ethiopian leaders are of particular significance in this context.

Both sides rated the conversations extremely useful.

V.M. Chebrikov's stay in Ethiopia took place in a warm and friendly atmopshere and once again confirmed the mutual understanding and trust that is typical of CPSU-WPE relations and relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Ethiopia.

Welcomed on Return by Nikonov

LD0901235989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1952 GMT 9 Jan 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Viktor Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, returned from Addis Ababa to Moscow on Monday. He was there on a friendly business visit in line with regular contacts maintained between the party and government leadership of the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

At the airport Comrade Chebrikov was welcomed by Comrade Nikonov and other officials. [video shows Chebrikov, Nikonov and other officials on the airfield]

Cuban Troop Withdrawal From Angola Reported

PM1001152589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Reportage by M. Pavlov in Moscow and APN correspondent N. Benediktov in Luanda under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Angola-Cuba: Withdrawal of Troops Has Begun"]

[Text] The withdrawal from Angola of the first group of Cuban internationalist soldiers, numbering 3,000 men, will begin 10 January and will be completed by early March, leaders of the People's Republic of Angola and Cuba have stated.

The withdrawal will be preceded by an official ceremony which, according to UPI, will be attended by Angolan leaders, diplomatic representatives accredited to the country, and a Cuban military delegation. Salvoes will thunder in Luanda in honor of the heroic defenders of the city of Cuito Cuanavale, where the South African aggressors suffered a major defeat and were obliged to sit down at the conference table for talks which ended with the signing of the New York agreements on a settlement in South-West Africa. Even then, in a display of good will, Cuba undertook to withdraw this contingent from Angola ahead of schedule. The remaining 47,000 soldiers and officers will return home in accordance with the agreed schedule over the course of 27 months beginning 1 April 1989—the date that UN Security Council Resolution 435 on granting independence to Namibia enters into force. The complete withdrawal of Cuba troops will end by 1 July 1991.

According to UPI, 450 Cubans will have left Angola by 11 January. This group will include representatives of all categories of troops. "I am happy to be leaving with a sense of satisfaction and victory," Lieutenant Adel Saldivar says. "The 50,000-strong Cuban corps has helped the Angolan people defend their country's independence."

According to Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, the Cubans can leave the republic aware that they have fulfilled their international duty.

Their withdrawal will be observed by a UN mission created at the request of Cuba and Angola and including 70 officers and 20 civilians. The observers will include representatives of 10 countries—Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Spain, India, Jordan, the Congo, Norway, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. It is headed by the Brazilian General Pericles Ferreira Gomes. We will do everything

possible to implement the Angolan-Cuban agreement, he told journalists. In turn Angolan External Relations Minister Afonso van Dunem gave an assurance on behalf of the republic's government that Angola will create the necessary conditions for the UN mission's successful work.

It should be noted that with the start of the withdrawal of the Cuban troops many speculative claims are to be encountered in the Western press alleging that part of the military contingent may remain in Angola. In response to this Antonio dos Santos, chief of general staff of the country's armed forces, told J. Brock, a correspondent for the U.S. ABC television company: "How can you hide 20,000 Cuban servicemen? That is not propaganda, but stupidity." And General Gomes, head of the UN mission, added that Cuba and Angola are allies and there are no grounds for not trusting them. He specified that the Angolan capital has been chosen as the site for the mission's headquarters. Its function is to observe the departure of Cuban troops from Angola's airports and sea ports. Let us add that the UN mission will operate for 31 months (for which $20 million have been earmarked) until the complete withdrawal of the Cuban internationalists.

Angola is faced with an important task—fully assuming the defense of national territory and revolutionary gains without assistance from Cuba. If the agreements which have been reached offer the country guarantees against outside acts of aggression, the internal enemies, in the form of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], continue to operate against the state's interests. The Angolan leadership is seeking to resolve this problem on the basis of a policy of mercy and national harmony. These aims are also served by the law on the amnesty which has been adopted, guaranteeing the integration into Angolan society of all antigovernment elements that voluntarily lay down their arms. At the same time, Angolan President dos Santos noted, the ending of foreign interference in Angola's affairs, especially from the RSA and the United States, is an essential factor for fulfilling the New York agreements and the success of the policy of charity. On this score hopeful reports are coming in from Pretoria. Thus, the newspaper BUSINESS DAY reported recently that during a private meeting RSA President P. Botha has told UNITA leader J. Savimbi that his country is ceasing aid to that grouping. If that is so, it can be regarded as a real contribution by Pretoria to the peace process in southern Africa. The African National Congress is seeking to make an important contribution to a settlement. At a news conference in Lusaka its president, O. Tambo, spoke of the withdrawal of that organization's subunits from Angola in order not to give the RSA a pretext for dragging out the process of a peace settlement in southwest Africa. And what about Washington, which continues to support UNITA?

Now that the first real steps are being taken in breaking the sinister circle of violence in southern Africa, all those who have assumed serious responsibility to the world community to end the protracted conflict must make the utmost efforts and have the utmost good will to bring the settlement process to a successful conclusion.

First Group Leaves Angola

LD1001232789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Excerpt] A festive send-off ceremony of the first group of Cuban internationalist soldiers took place in Luanda today. Our correspondent, Aleksey Sokolov, reports from the Angolan capital:

[Sokolov] Some 450 soldiers and officers of the 3,000 who are to be withdrawn from Angola before 1 April as a gesture of goodwill by Angola and Cuba, have left for their homeland. The date of 1 April is the start of the fulfillment of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on granting Namibia independence.

At the request of the Angolan authorities the Cuban troops arrived in that country 13 years ago to help the young republic to repulse a double aggression by the Zairean contingent and detachments of the Angolan National Liberation Front puppet grouping from the north and also by mercenaries and regular RSA troops from the south. It was possible to defend independence: the enemy was repulsed.

However, this did not mean the end of the aggression. In some form or other, now abating and now flaring up with renewed vigor, the war was exhausting the country throughout the 13 years of its independence. The South African troops were completely withdrawn from Angola only by 1 September 1988, having been dealt prior to this a number of telling blows by the Angolan-Cuban forces.

Having understood that their aggressive plans were hopeless, the Pretoria racists were forced to agree to conclude a peace agreement that guarantees the security of Angola and the independence of Namibia. Thus the presence of Cuban troops in the country is no longer necessary. So their first group is leaving for home. [passage omitted]

Commentary Views ANC Withdrawal From Angola

MB1001144189 Moscow in English to South Africa 1900 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Vladimir Valentinov commentary]

[Text] The African National Congress of South Africa has decided to withdraw its bases from Angolan territory to assist in implementing the accords on settlement in southwest Africa. Commentary is by Vladimir Valentinov, who writes:

This report came together with reports that Angola was saying goodbye to the first group of Cuban internationalists who return home on 10 January, ahead of time. These are two gestures of goodwill, two constructive approaches to the burning problems of the south of Africa.

Havana and Luanda have stressed their readiness to comply with the agreement signed in New York by Angola, Cuba, and South Africa on 22 December last year. The ANC, while advancing this initiative, has once again shown it is ready to make peaceful political solution.

There is still one more preemptive, as it were, aspect in the ANC's decision to withdraw its bases from Angola. According to the president of this national liberational organization of South Africa, Oliver Tambo, the ANC is this way cutting off the ground from Pretoria's feet in suspending Namibia's independence. Although formally there are not any grounds yet for such apprehensions, suspension is too early to be excluded, if you take into account Pretoria's conduct. With regard to this, the ANC is showing its strategic wisdom and political maturity.

The implementation of agreements opens up prospects for solutions of a bulk of issues in the south of Africa. Departure from the agreements can, on the contrary, plunge the region into new fraticidal wars and racial shake-ups.

Presidium Greets Ivorian President on Anniversary
PM0901124389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent a telegram to Ivorian President Felix Houphouet-Boigny in which it congratulated the leadership and the people of the Ivory Coast on the 28th anniversary of the country's independence. The telegram expresses the hope that relations between the Soviet Union and the Ivory Coast will further develop in the interests of our two countries and the ideals of peace and progress.

In his reply telegram, F. Houphouet-Boigny expressed gratitude to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for its congratulations and wished the Soviet people further prosperity. The president confirmed the Ivorian Government's readiness to continue to expand and deepen the friendly relations existing between the two countries.

Lukyanov Receives New Burkinabe Ambassador
LD2812113088 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT 28 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 28 TASS—Burkina Faso's Ambassador Hanitas Yonas Ye presented his credentials to Anatoliy Lukyanov, first vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament), in the Kremlin on Wednesday.

Greeting the ambassador, Lukyanov noted that the similarity of views on major international issues created a good basis for international cooperation between the Soviet Union and Burkina Faso and its expansion with due account of the mutual interests and potentialities of the two sides.

Lukyanov emphasised that restructuring in the Soviet Union had brought about the renewal of Soviet foreign policy and new political thinking based on universal human values and the creation of favourable conditions for humanity's survival and progress.

All this increases the possibility of finding a fair settlement to global problems and regional conflicts and joint ways of resolving complicated ecological tasks, overcoming backwardness, poverty and diseases in many areas of the world.

East Europe

Troop Pullout From Hungary in 'Next Few Weeks'
LD1001192689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest: As Hungarian leader Karoly Grosz has announced in an interview with the Japanese newspaper NIHON KEIZAI, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary will start in the next few weeks. ASSOCIATED PRESS reports this and also cites the words of Hungarian Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati to the effect that the preparations for this withdrawal are nearing completion.

Let me remind you that when Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke at the United Nations on 7 December, he announced the withdrawal of six tank divisions and other troops from Hungary, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia in the next 2 years.

IZVESTIYA on Hungarian Price Increases
PM1001161189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent F. Lukyanov: "Hungary: Why Prices Have Been Increased"]

[Excerpts] Budapest—It may be said that many Hungarians were prepared psychologically for this rise in prices, announced on the Sunday evening national television programs. This subject recently has been touched on frequently in the speeches of officials and in the press. No secret was made of the goods and services for which prices might be increased: meat, milk, medicines, and transport. The specific date when the customer would have to pay more than the day before was even cited: 9 January. The only thing which was not known was by how much a particular commodity's price would increase. [passage omitted listing price increases]

What has caused the present increase in prices which, as we can see, affects every Hungarian family? The main reason is the Hungarian economy's further transition to complete economic accountability [khozraschet] and the reduction and, in the very near future, the total repeal of the state's subsidies for loss-making enterprises, consumer prices, and consumer services. It is planned that real market prices depending primarily on supply and demand will play an increasing role in the future.

The government is being persistently pushed toward curtailing subsidies by the country's difficult financial position and although compared with 1987 the state budget deficit in 1988 fell from 35 billion to 20.4 billion forints, a deficit in the order of 20 billion forints is still envisaged for fiscal 1989. The question of paying off the country's foreign debts and preventing them from increasing is very acute.

The Hungarian Government recently elaborated a special program for the radical reduction of government subsidies, geared to a 4-year period. By 1993 it is planned to reduce the volume of subsidies from the present 215 billion forints to 82 billion. Until recently subsidies from the state were issued for three purposes: to cover the losses of unprofitable enterprises, to maintain and expand exports, and, finally, the most important item—subsidies for consumer prices and consumer services.

Incidentally, decisions on a substantial reduction in subsidies have been frequently made at government level, but matters never got to the point of their implementation. On the contrary, from 1980 through 1988 the size of subsidies tripled! This situation, in the opinion of economists, is paralyzing the economy and preserving the obsolete production structure.

There is no doubt that in taking these measures the government is taking a certain risk inasmuch as this is connected with an increase in prices and consequently with a certain lowering of the population's living standard. The government and the population both realize that you cannot call this decision a popular one. The only thing you can count on in this situation is strict accounting and proving, with the figures to hand, that no other solution is possible.

The National Trade Union Council has voiced the conviction that the government will channel the funds obtained by reducing subsidies (38 billion forints, according to preliminary calculations) not only into reducing the state budget deficit but also into increasing wages and ensuring socioeconomic development. Not long before the increase in prices representatives of the National Trade Union Council and the government reached agreement on a centralized increase in wages of 4.1 billion forints in 1989. The size of the minimum pension has been increased to 3,500 forints. These reports are being published at the same time as the figures for the increase in prices.

Estrangement Between USSR, Albania 'Unnatural'

PM1101105989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[N. Morozov article: "To Overcome Past Accretions"]

[Text] The Albanian people today celebrate a portentous date—43 years ago, 11 January 1946, the country was proclaimed a people's republic. The Albanian working people's liberation struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party (now the Albanian Workers Party) against Italian and then German fascist invaders resulted in not only the attainment of freedom and independence but also the handover of power to the people. In the course of restoring the national economy during the postwar years and implementing profound socioeconomic transformations Albania relied on the solidarity and support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Albanian working people have managed to do a great deal over the years of people's power. Considerable successes have been achieved in economic, social, and cultural development. The once backward and semifeudal country has become an agrarian-industrial state with diversified industry, developed agriculture, and a network of educational and scientific establishments.

As the Ninth AWP Congress (November 1986) pointed out, the fulfillment of the main political, economic, and social tasks set by the previous party congress was an important stage on Albania's path toward socialism.

In the foreign policy sphere Albania has recently been activating the expansion of international ties, particularly within the framework of inter-Balkan cooperation. A regular meeting of deputy foreign ministers of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia will be held in Tirana 18-20 January for a further exchange of opinions on ways to develop multilateral ties among the Balkan states. The process of normalizing relations with socialist countries is also continuing.

It is known that Albania's relations with the Soviet Union were broken off in the early sixties. As PRAVDA wrote recently, Soviet people regard as unnatural the situation that has taken shape in Soviet-Albanian relations, when there are no contacts between two socialist states. "People in the Soviet Union are convinced that the overcoming of the accretions of the period of disunity between our countries and a joint search for mutually acceptable ways to restore equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation would accord with the interests of both states' peoples and with the cause of peace and socialism."

USSR-Albanian Friendship Society Board Meets

LD1001140489 Moscow TASS in English 1123 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—The 43rd anniversary of the proclamation of Albania a peoples republic [as received] was the subject of a session of the central board of the Soviet-Albanian Friendship Society here today.

Speakers expressed the opinion that normalisation of relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania would be in the interests of the peoples of the two countries and of benefit to the cause of peace and socialism.

West Europe

Further Reportage on Yakovlev Activities in FRG

Yakovlev, Kohl Hold Talks

LD0901235689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by V. Kondratyev, identified by screen caption]

[Text] [Announcer] Comrade Yakovlev's stay in the FRG is continuing. He heads a CPSU delegation to the Ninth German Communist Party [DKP] Congress.

[Kondratyev] Yesterday evening and the last day of Comrade Yakovlev's stay in the FRG were fully devoted to meetings in Bonn. His conversation today with Helmut Kohl continued for 1 and ½ hours. The atmosphere at it, as was subsequently reported to the press, was frank and friendly. The chancellor stated that his aim is to achieve a long state of goodneighborliness with the Soviet Union. He expressed a readiness to deepen bilateral relations which, after his trip to Moscow, have been developing positively and dynamically. The preparations for a reply visit to the FRG by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, which should be crowned with the concluding of a whole series of concrete accords on a broad spectrum of cooperation, was discussed. [video shows the grounds of a building; Yakovlev and entourage walking along a corridor, entering a room; Yakovlev and Kohl emerging from a room to pose for photos, exchanging a few words as they pose, and shaking hands]

The large assembly hall on the shore of the Rhine could only with difficulty accommodate those who had come for Comrade Yakovlev's speech at the German foreign policy society, which is independent of both party associations, representatives of FRG political life, business circles, trade union functionaries, scientists, and the military. [video shows Rhinescape; Yakovlev making speech at a rostrum inside a large room; closeups of the audience; closeups of Yakovlev; audience applause at the end of the speech]

Aleksandr Nikolayevich shared his thoughts about the historic fate of Europe; about overcoming cliches and stereotypes in the development of relations between the states of the continent, which is called on to become a common home, a home whose solidity should to a great extent determine the state of Soviet-West German ties. Speaking about the qualitatively new level of dialogue between the USSR and the FRG, Comrade Yakovlev stressed the need for its stimulating effect for positive changes in world and all-European processes. He expressed the conviction that a great future awaits our relations.

The speech was heard with great attention and the discussion that took place afterward allowed the West German participants in the meeting to define more precisely notions of the guidelines of Soviet policy. [video shows same venue; Yakovlev meeting Vogel and others away from the rostrum; Yakovlev talking to the same group of elderly men, shaking hands] During Comrade Yakovlev's meeting with Hans Jochen Vogel, chairman of Germany's Social-Democratic Party, and with other leaders of the party, questions were discussed about disarmament and European security. Hans Jochen Vogel spoke highly of the Soviet Union's intention to begin the unilateral liquidation of chemical weapons. Successfully developing contacts between the CPSU and the German SPD should develop further.

Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev met today with Otto Lambsdorff, chairman of the Free Democrat Party. During discussion of questions of Soviet-West German relations, problems of developing bilateral economic cooperation were touched on first and foremost. Possibilities for the development of ties between the CPSU and the Free Democrat Party were also discussed. [video shows Yakovlev and unidentified man seated in armchairs inside a room; brief glimpse of the two getting up after the meeting]

Before the departure flight for Moscow a final conversation took place between Comrade Yakovlev and Herbert Mies, chairman of the DKP. An exchange of views took place in Frankfurt-am-Main, and on the further deepening of relations between the two fraternal parties. [video shows Yakovlev and Mies standing, talking together]

FRG Spokesman Cited on Meeting

LD0901212189 Moscow TASS in English 2112 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Bonn January 9 TASS—Reporting on a meeting in Bonn today between Aleksandr Yakovlev, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, spokesman for the FRG Government F. Ost said that the sides emphasised mutual interest that Mikhail Gorbachev's reply to the Federal Republic of Germany score success in the interests of the further development of bilateral relations.

The chancellor expressed the readiness to continue deepening bilateral relations which have been developing positively and dynamically after Kohl's visit to the USSR, Ost said. The head of the Bonn government continues to strive for the creation of a good-neighbourly atmosphere. In this connection, the chancellor emphasised the importance of conversations and contacts which can largely promote the creation of the necessary trust, Ost said. This will make it possible to resolve complex problems, above all in the area of ensuring security and disarmament. In view of Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming reply visit to the FRG to take palce in the spring, negotiations on a wide range of concrete arrangements conducted now, and the negotiations being prepared should be concluded. This applies above all to the joint statement, cooperation in the economic and scientific areas, cultural and youth exchange.

The chancellor said again that he favours the process of reforms started in the USSR which opened new opportunities for bilateral cooperation and settlement of international conflicts.

The participants in the conversation are unanimous in the view that important changes take place in Europe and all over the world. Therefore it is particularly important to maintain and develop the dynamics of East-West relations achieved in the framework of the Soviet-American summits in questions of security and disarmament, of settlement of regional conflicts. There are now more opportunities for this than ever before.

FRG Press on Yakovlev Visit

AU1001122089 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 10 Jan 89

["C.G." report: "Yakovlev Says Moscow Agreements Are Valid 'in Full Scope'"]

[Text] Bonn, 9 January—Soviet Politburo member Yakovlev discussed German-Soviet relations with Chancellor Kohl and FDP Chairman Count Lambsdorff in Bonn on Monday [9 January]. On the previous evening, Yakovlev, the Soviet Central Committee secretary responsible for international relations, had met with SPD Chairman Vogel. The talk with Kohl was described as open and friendly. Yakovlev said that the Soviet leadership wishes speedy and comprehensive negotiations on the realization of the projects that were discussed during Kohl's visit to Moscow last October. All agreements reached at that time are valid "in their full scope."

The Chancellor's Office considered Yakovlev's statement important because it referred not only to the planned joint statement on the development of relations but also to the agreements on inland and maritime navigation, which have been controversial to date because of the inclusion of Berlin. The declarations of intent with regard to the visit of the Soviet state and party chief, Gorbachev, to Bonn in spring also include the conclusion of an investment protection agreement.

Yakovlev's statements were considered a confirmation that such an agreement, which is indispensable for economic cooperation, will be reached and will also be valid for Berlin. Gorbachev's return visit is expected for the beginning of June. Yakovlev and Kohl said that the forthcoming meeting with Gorbachev is to become "a great success." Therefore, numerous agreements are to be "ready for conclusion" by then—on economic and scientific cooperation, and on cultural and youth exchange.

Yakovlev reported on the Soviet reforms. There are "objective difficulties," but Gorbachev has the development under control. Gorbachev's adviser said that the reforms facilitate closer cooperation. Kohl expressed his sympathy for the Soviet party chief's reform policy. At present, conditions for seeking rapprochement in the security policy of the West and the East and in regional conflicts are more favorable then ever before, Kohl and Yakovlev concurred. However, one must not demand too much of the other side, but must retain one's sense of proportion. Yakovlev expressed the wish for Bonn's support in pushing ahead the movement initiated between East and West.

The planned joint statement which is to be made during Gorbachev's visit was mentioned only briefly. Already last September, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze handed FRG Foreign Minister Genscher parts of a Moscow draft of such a "document." Various partial drafts drawn up in Bonn must now be put together by the FRG Government.

Since Christmas, Kohl has been working on the texts which are to be developed into a draft of the "Joint Statement".

In March, Shevardnadze will come to the FRG and coordinate with Genscher the drafts of the German-Soviet statement, which will probably be available by then. At a meeting in Paris, Genscher and Shevardnadze expressed confidence that the difficulties concerning Berlin in the inland and maritime navigation agreement will be overcome. Negotiations are also to be continued on the establishment of an FRG cultural institute and a "House of German Business" in Moscow. Shevardnadze said that the year 1989 is particularly important to the German-Soviet relationship. A spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry predicted "great results" of Gorbachev's meeting with Kohl. Mutual trust has already increased, he said.

Concerning a Germany policy, Bonn has registered cautious Soviet statements. The spokesman of the Moscow Foreign Ministry spoke of the political, territorial, and historical reality of the existence of two German states. The "new thinking" cannot abolish realities, but it can help to live better with the real conditions existing on the European continent: "And history will decide what will happen in the future." Asked whether "restructuring" in Europe can be effective despite the Berlin Wall and the order to shoot issued by the GDR authorities, Yakovlev

said in Bonn: "I do not represent a German state, but the Soviet Union." In a lecture at the German Foreign Policy Society, Yakovlev said that the relationship with the FRG is not only of bilateral importance to the Soviet Union: "Our interrelationship is one of the main stones in the foundation of the European House, and will determine whether this house is earthquakeproof."

Yakovlev reported that he gave Kohl "as a souvenir" a fragment of one of the intermediate-range missiles that have already been destroyed in the USSR. Moscow is willing to make progress in disarmament with the same speed that NATO is capable of attaining. The alliances should then prove to be mechanisms to monitor the observance of the agreements. The "myth of the nuclear weapons' power to strengthen peace" that exists in the West is a dangerous delusion. Moscow does not deny that there is asymmetry in conventional armed forces. Now it is time to establish a security system in Europe that makes conflicts impossible. Together, the meeting between Kohl and Gorbachev in Moscow and the forthcoming meeting in Bonn form a "new chapter," in which one is starting to "look into the future and not only into the past." Cooperation is gaining a "new qualitative level," without neglecting other respective partners. The German-Soviet relationship offers suggestions for "positive changes" in Europe and has a "great future," Yakovlev said.

Yakovlev described the reform efforts in the Soviet Union as a transition from dogmas to rationality in the tradition of the European Enlightenment. The West, too, should let itself be guided more by reason than by emotions, and should overcome "inertia in insisting on thinking in terms of military confrontation." The success of Gorbachev's reforms can be guaranteed to the extent to which they apply to the fulfillment of agreements and contracts. "However, it would not be honest to demand a guarantee of history." Success will come when everyone—also outside the Soviet Union—decides to act reasonably. In this connection, the example of the CSCE conferences could serve as a guideline. Then the probability of Gorbachev's success would be higher than if the West were only to wait. "The Soviet Union, too, prefers to have partners who do not trust in myths but in facts and deal more rationally with the developments in the world, which are not only determined by the Soviet Union," Yakovlev said.

Europe is standing at a crossroads: "Overcoming the poisonous legacy and the cold war is possible and it is not the success of one single person," Yakovlev stated. The West must realize that military rivalry is useless from the technological point of view and "must not betray trust." Everywhere there must be a deideologization—as is attempted in the Soviet Union. Emotionality has to be pushed back. Now it is necessary to find "political and legal forms to regulate cooperation." This goes far beyond economy and technology. The "European home" symbolizes creative cooperation and its results are that different opinions and the dignity of every participant are respected, it is competition "as a creative method." Moscow does not consider Europe to be an isolated natural preserve and neither does it want to separate Western Europe from America. Isolation from the surroundings does not benefit anyone, because it is necessary to make a "transition from the balance of power to the balance of interests" in foreign policy, culture, the economy, and social matters. Solving global problems is more important than individual interests.

Yakovlev noted that environmental protection is a priority area of all-European cooperation. If large sums are not spent in this field, "we will be cursed by coming generations." Modern Europe must correspond to the ideas of the philosopher Kant: "Everyone must feel responsible for all of mankind." Over the past decades, this maxim has not been observed. Soviet "restructuring" with its influence on people's awareness is an example for the rest of the world, because all kinds of thinking and acting are included in a revolutionary way. It is not only economic and political reforms as a reaction to the difficulties and deformations of the past. Much more, "restructuring" is the result of enormous intellectual work, which "causes a change in psychology." A weltanschauung is developed further and filled with life so that it will not be based on "dead scholasticism." The tone of command previously used in Soviet society is now being eliminated. Now "newly born ideals of freedom, social democracy, and justice" dominate. Correspondingly, the entire European "psychology" has to develop: "We should let sensible doubts and sober analyses work instead of dogmas." Pluralism and democracy must become the "norms of international life" under conditions of mutual respect. The most important thing is a "revolution of the mind"—not acting in set patterns that are determined by the "self-confidence of power." Differences could be used for mutual enrichment and not for confrontation, Yakovlev said.

Meets FRG Officials, Departs

PM1001152389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Stay in FRG"]

[Excerpt] Bonn, 9 Jan—[passage omitted] A.N. Yakovlev delivered a report here today at the invitation of the German Foreign Policy Society. Those present included members of the FRG-USSR Parliamentary Group. The speaker expounded Soviet ideas about the restructuring of international relations in the spirit of the new thinking, about the transition from confrontation to mutually advantageous cooperation, and about European security and building an "all-European home." He dwelt on the role that Soviet-FRG relations—which are taking an upward turn—could play in this. A.N. Yakovlev also talked about the profound transformations that are being implemented in all areas of the life of the Soviet Union. He then answered numerous questions from those present.

A.N. Yakovlev met with O. Lambsdorff, chairman of the Free Democratic Party [FDP], today. In the course of the conversation that took place, they touched on questions of Soviet-FRG relations, above all the development of bilateral economic cooperation. The possibilities of developing ties between the CPSU and the FDP were also discussed.

A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, head of the CPSU delegation to the Ninth German Communist Party [DKP] Congress, had a final conversation with H. Mies, chairman of the DKP. A thorough exchange of opinions on the results of the Ninth DKP Congress held in Frankfurt-am-Main and the further deepening of relations between the two fraternal parties took place. The conversation took place in a frank and friendly atmosphere.

The CPSU delegation, headed by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, that took part in the work of the Ninth DKP Congress left for Moscow today.

The delegation was seen off at Koeln-Bonn Airport by H. Mies, chairman of the DKP, and other representatives of the DKP leadership.

Received by Zaykov on Return

LD0901231989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2258 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jan (TASS)—A CPSU delegation led by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which took part in the work of the Ninth German Communist Party Congress returned to Moscow today.

The delegation was met at the airport in Moscow by Lev Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom; Valentin Falin, candidate-member of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and executive staff of the CPSU Central Committee.

PRAVDA Comments on DKP Congress Debate

PM1001135589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 89 Second Edition p 7

[Report by PRAVDA and TASS special correspondents Ye. Grigoryev, N. Kalintsev, and V. Serov: "German Communist Party Congress To Be Continued"]

[Text] Frankfurt-am-Main, 8 Jan—The routine, 9th German Communist Party [DKP] Congress has been in session for 3 days here. The delegates discussed political, social, and organizational problems, as well as the topical tasks for the new year of concern to West German Communists.

The debate was open, frank, in the spirit of the times, and occasionally fierce and heated. It led to an appreciation of the principal areas of party activity in 1989, above all in the struggle for peace and disarmament, in defense of working people's vital interests and rights, and for democratic reforms. At the same time, the congress debate showed that there are still different views in the DKP about ways and means of party restructuring and renewal of the activity of party organizations from top to bottom.

The delegates failed today to complete the discussion of all the resolutions submitted to the congress. Therefore it was decided to continue the work of the 9th DKP Congress in the latter half of February. The fundamental documents in which the Communists intend to give their response to the challenge of the times are the "FRG-2000" alternative program for the country's peaceful and democratic development and the plan "On the Status and Future Development of the DKP." They were discussed at the Frankfurt congress, but the discussion will continue throughout the year. To complete the discussion it was decided to convene an extraordinary party congress in early 1990.

In the life of communist parties every supreme forum is an important event. The Frankfurt congress was no exception. There was considerable public interest in the acute problems discussed at the congress. Around 300 media representatives were registered to attend the congress, a particularly large number from bourgeois papers, which has not been the case before. Certain people were clearly hoping that, in view of the complex problems faced by the DKP, including the drop in membership, the congress debate would go beyond fierce but at the same time comradely debate and lead to a split. But their expectations were not borne out.

The representatives of nearly 50 communist and workers parties and national liberation movements have been following the congress' work with interest. They included a CPSU delegation headed by A.N. Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Fraternal parties' representatives addressed the congress, had comradely conversations with delegates, and visited DKP organizations in a number of cities. In their speeches they talked about solidarity with the West German Communists' struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress.

The congress adopted a political resolution formulating the chief political tasks for the upcoming period.

DKP Chairman H. Mies made the concluding speech.

FRG Response to Chemical Weapons Plan 'Positive'

LD1001235189 Moscow TASS in English 2025 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Bonn January 10 TASS—The Soviet Union's decision to embark unilaterally in the current year on the elimination of chemical weapons evoked a broad positive response of the FRG political circles, scientists, democratic public.

The parliamentary group of the Greens Party positively appraised the new Soviet peace initiative. We welcome the Soviet Union's decision to embark on the elimination of stockpiles of chemical weapons, said Helmut Lippelt, one of the leaders of the parliamentary group. At the same time he urged the FRG Government to press consistently for the removal of U.S. chemical weapons from the FRG territory. The FRG territory should not be used as a place for the storage of chemical ammunition, he said.

The Soviet Union's decision shows convincingly that, in contrast to the USA, the Soviet Union is really prepared for disarmament in the area of chemical weapons, said Werner Dosch, professor of chemistry in Mainz. While the USSR has long since discontinued the production of chemical weapons, the United States embarked from December 1987 on the implementation of the program for the production of binary chemical ammunition. The program envisages the manufacture of 1.2 million shells for howitzers and 44 thousand "big eye" aerial bombs.

A statement by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz that the USA will start eliminating its stockpiles of chemical weapons in the current year does not alter anything in the U.S. program for the build-up of chemical weapons, the scientist said. It should be noted that the elimination of obsolete chemical ammunition was the condition on which the congress gave the consent for the production of binary weapons. Therefore it is unjustifiable to put this statement on par with the steps announced by the Soviet foreign minister. The Soviet initiative has an absolutely different quality, Werner Dosch said.

Two public organisations—the Federal Alliance of Citizens' Initiatives for Environmental Protection and the Federal Association Against Chemical Weapons made a call to the FRG Government to lift the pall of secrecy from the information about the U.S. chemical weapons on the FRG territory and state where these weapons are stored. The joint statement of these organisations says that no less than 10,000 tons of U.S. toxic agents have been deployed in the FRG territory. These toxic agents are enough to destroy life on a considerable part in the country.

Chebrikov Meets With Cypriot President 9 Jan

PM1001150589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation in Cyprus"]

[Text] Nicosia, 9 Jan—En route home from Ethiopia V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made a stopover in Cyprus. V.M. Chebrikov met with Cypriot President Y. Vasiliou and had a friendly conversation with him on certain topical international problems and questions of Soviet-Cypriot relations.

A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, and Yu.Ye. Fokin, USSR ambassador to Cyprus, took part in the conversation.

Council of Ministers Sends UK Air Crash Condolences

PM1001143989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Condolences Expressed"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has expressed its condolences to the British Government in connection with the air crash that took place 8 January, causing great loss of life. It also sent its sympathy to the injured and to the relatives and friends of the dead.

Rogachev, Austrian Official Discuss Cambodia

LD1001235489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1432 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jan (TASS)—Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, today met Leopold Graz, president of the National Council (Parliament) of Austria, who is in Moscow on his way to Vietnam and other Southeast Asian countries, at the latter's request. An in-depth exchange of opinions took place on a whole range of issues concerning a settlement in Cambodia.

Luxembourg's Ambassador Departs Moscow

LD1101083289 Moscow TASS in English 0759 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—Luxembourg's ambassador to the USSR Robert Blaes left Moscow on Tuesday.

Swiss Bank Reports Increased Loans to USSR

AU0701183389 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 6 Jan 89 p 7

[Unattributed report: "USSR Raises More Loans"]

[Excerpt] Basel—The banks of the leading industrial countries have further reduced loans to the developing countries. Loans to East European countries, in particular to the Soviet Union, on the other hand, have increased. According to the new statistics for the first half of 1988 published by the Bank for International Settlements in Basel, Eastern Europe raised international bank loans at a value of $5 billion during the period under review. During the preceding period an increase of $1 billion had already been noticed. The increase was mainly due to the Soviet Union's receiving new loans at a value of $4 billion. [passage omitted]

Latin America & Caribbean

Castro Cited on Future, Nature of Socialism

PM1001142589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Fidel Castro Speech"]

[Text] Havana, 9 Jan—The development and utmost improvement of socialism, whose future is in the hands of the country's younger generation, is a topical task of today. These words were spoken by Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Cuban Council of State and Council of Ministers, addressing a mass rally in Havana devoted to the 30th anniversary of the march into the capital by the rebel forces that decided the final victory of the Cuban revolution.

Today's younger generation must strengthen the mechanisms for defending Cuba's sovereignty and territorial integrity and also improve and defend socialism, the speaker said. Imperialism has not disappeared—and its ideology is still alive. It would be naive to think that the difficult period of the revolution is over. Imperialism has no intention of giving up its attempts to destroy the socialist revolution in Cuba.

F. Castro categorically rejected the fabrications of Western mass media, which are trying to accuse socialist countries of deviating from the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The task of present and future generations of Marxists, he noted, is to develop and improve socialism. We understand the importance of the socialist formula of material incentives for labor. However, in addition to material incentives, there is also the factor of moral encouragement. There can be no socialism or communism without the cultivation of socialist morality and ethics.

The speaker indicated the importance of further strengthening relations with socialist countries. He spoke in favor of absolute respect for the right of every socialist country to follow its chosen path and confirmed the invariable nature of Cuba's relations with revolutionary, democratic, progressive, and worker movements.

New Receiver Station at Havana Embassy

LD1001180889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] A new station receiving the programs of Central Television has been installed at the Soviet Embassy in Havana. It is called Moskva-Globalnaya. The station consists of parabolic antennae, 4 meters in diameter, and special apparatus. The televison signal can be relayed either via a cable system or using the ether. Henceforth Soviet specialists—first of all in Havana, and then in other Cuban towns—will have the opportunity to keep abreast of the latest news.

The serial production of such stations start this year in the USSR. They will be installed at Soviet offices, primarily in distant countries, North and South America, Africa, and Asia.

As well as television and radio programs, these stations can pick up information for the TASS, APN, and Gosteleradio press offices.

Ortega Comments on Summit Postponement

LD1101093589 Moscow TASS in English 0818 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Managua January 11 TASS—A meeting of the presidents of five Central American countries, which was to be held in El Salvador on January 15-16, has been postponed until the second half of February.

At a press conference in Managua on Tuesday, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega said that until the last moment Nicaragua opposed the Central American summit's postponement suggested by the president of Costa Rica.

However, in the face of the Costa Rican side's stubborn unwillingness to hold the summit at the date agreed upon earlier, Nicaragua, showing flexibility and guided by a desire to save the peace dialogue in Central America, agreed to a postponement of the summit until the second half of February.

Ortega pointed out that the summit's venue would not be changed and that an exact date for the summit would be announced within the next two or three days.

At the same time the Nicaraguan president emphasised that the postponement of the summit put in jeopardy the Central American peace process.

The explosive situation in the region may become aggravated at any moment, he said, and the now existing opportunity to resume the peace dialogue would be lost.

Gorbachev Congratulates Colombian Party Leader

PA0901152689 Bogota EL SIGLO in Spanish 3 Jan 89 p 8A

["Text" of letter from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to Gilberto Vieira, secretary general of the Colombian Communist Party—date not given]

[Text] Dear Comrade: I cordially congratulate you on your reelection as Secretary General to the Colombian Communist Party.

I wish you and all Colombian Communists great success in your struggle for the Colombian workers' interests, for the country's development by peaceful means, for democracy, and for social progress.

Political & Social

Gorbachev 10 Jan Report to Plenum on Elections

PM1001192189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Jan 89 First Edition pp 1-2

["CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's Report at the 10 January 1989 CPSU Central Committee Plenum"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Comrades, today we are holding a plenary meeting which has no equal in our party's history. The agenda of the plenum arises directly from restructuring processes which have developed in the country on a large scale, from the democratization of Soviet society and from the political system's reform, the implementation of which we have approached closely.

In accordance with the goals of the first phase of the political reform which envisages a restructuring of supreme bodies of state power, a campaign began in the country for the election of USSR people's deputies. We are to formulate a political platform with which the party will approach the elections. A draft address by the CPSU Central Committee to the party and the Soviet people has been submitted to you for consideration.

It follows from the newly adopted electoral law that our plenum should nominate the party's candidates for the posts of USSR people's deputies, and to submit their names for registration to the Commission for Election of USSR People's Deputies from the CPSU. As you see, all these are very important matters. They are of great significance not only to the CPSU as the ruling party but also to all parts of our political system.

I.

It seems that there is no need at this plenary meeting to give a detailed description of the characteristics of the current election campaign. They arise directly from the responsible, crucial stage in the history of the Soviet state, the stage through which the country is passing along the road of restructuring.

First, it was precisely restructuring that brought about the present atmosphere in society—an atmosphere of growing democratization, glasnost (openness), and an upsurge in working people's political activity. This is the first thing.

Second, restructuring itself has entered a new phase of development. The theory and policy of restructuring were formulated and major decisions were made at the previous stages. The tasks of the practical implementation of the course towards restructuring are now squarely before us. This was a characteristic of our work in the past year and this will be characteristic to a still greater extent of this year. So the current stage of restructuring brings the party and the soviets (governing councils), public organizations, work collectives, and our entire society to a new level of responsibility when the real fruits of creative activity become the main criterion for assessment. I would say that this is the principal theme of the current period.

Of course, everything mentioned above does not mean that we did not tackle practical deeds in past years. This would be just as wrong as concluding that our interest in theoretical elaborations and quest for optimal political solutions, new forms and methods of work will now begin to diminish. This is not the case, of course. I want only to emphasize the urgent necessity of the present moment—to sharply shift the center of gravity to practical work, to implement the elaborated policy and the adopted decisions.

Comrades, when we say that the role of the party as the political vanguard of society should grow at the present stage, this should not be viewed as an abstract call. I am speaking of this because quite often this or that theoretical thesis is thoughtlessly repeated by everyone but few come to think of what it means in practice, in real life.

Quite a lot has been said about the CPSU's role as the political vanguard of society in conditions of restructuring. But it is legitimate to say that far from everyone has realised what this means in actual fact.

Therefore, we are slow to comprehend the current processes and don't always find the right solutions to problems encountered by restructuring. This quite often results in confusion in people's minds and creates obstacles to practical action.

It is known that at revolutionary turning points the role of the party as the organizing and integrating force of society is particularly great. The party is strong, with its high degree of organization, cohesion, and clarity of theoretical thought and efficiency of practical actions.

It is appropriate to mention this now that we are faced with such a major political event as the current election campaign. The point is to form a deputies' corps on new principles. Its function will be to create new bodies of state power and administration called upon to tackle all of the most essential matters concerning the practical realization of the tasks of restructuring.

All these matters are most closely connected with popular interests, with the fate of the nation and of socialism. This is, comrades, what is at issue. We should approach the business at hand, carefully considering the party's tasks in this election campaign, from these positions of high responsibility and high standards. It is nothing but the awareness of our high responsibility that prompted the conclusion about the need to address the Communists and all the country's working people on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee in connection with the elections of USSR people's deputies.

The CPSU Central Committee addresses the Soviet people, proceeding from the fact that the CPSU is the ruling party and therefore bears the whole brunt of responsibility before Soviet society for the destiny of socialism and of the country. The Soviet people are entitled to know the objectives and tasks formulated by the party for the immediate future and the platform it takes to the elections.

We are adopting an address to the party and the Soviet people at a Central Committee plenum for the first time. This was necessitated not only by the immense significance of the forthcoming elections for the future of the country and not only by the special importance of the political situation that I have already mentioned.

This is due to the realization of the party's new role at this stage and the increased significance of its mission as the political vanguard of society.

In the present-day situation we should proceed from the premise that the other social organizations will come to the elections with their own campaign documents. Individual candidates standing in the elections can also set forth their own view of the tasks facing the nation.

In this situation the need for a political platform of the party, which would express the interests of the nation as a whole, combine all the diverse opinions and requirements of different sections of society and lend them purpose in the light of the specific tasks of this phase of restructuring, is greater than at any time in the past. At this historically important moment our people—the working class, farmers and intellectuals—are looking to the party to say its piece. We should fully grasp the dialectics of public life and correctly understand the significance which the CPSU Central Committee's campaign address will have.

Offering our political election platform to society, we do this in a straightforward and open manner, acting as the recognized vanguard of society.

The party has demonstrated great courage by assuming responsibility for the serious mistakes and blunders of past years. Relying on Lenin's principles and guided by popular interests, it suggested at the same time an innovative blueprint for updating socialism, a program which we called restructuring.

I think we don't exaggerate when we say that the people have recognized the party's political courage. Trust in party policies and support for them in society are increasing in the course of restructuring. Naturally enough, however, the credit of trust is not granted forever. Each time, at every new stage of building socialism, the party has to justify it with its practical and theoretical activities. This is true today as well.

I think that there is only one way to strengthen popular confidence in the party, and that is by unfolding and consolidating restructuring and showing tireless concern for improving the Soviet people's well-being. This is the main thrust and characteristic of the Central Committee's address to the nation.

The party should see the whole picture of restructuring, analyze its strengths and weaknesses, make timely adjustments responding to life itself and work to rally all healthy forces in society around restructuring, taking advantage of the tremendous arsenal of political, ideological and organizational means of influence.

Experience shows that in this respect we have to deal with conservatism holding back renewal processes and with artificial drags on the introduction of progressive forms of orgnaization and management in production and in other spheres of life.

There is yet another danger. We can see how difficult it is for some comrades to avoid leftist excesses and a desire to jump stages and suggest goals and tasks without assessing with real possibilities.

We sometimes have to deal with speculation on difficulties and on people's natural desire to achieve a quicker change for the better in the economy and the social field. There even are people who seek to gain prestige cheaply, by speculating on all this.

It is important not only to see all this but also to subject it all to serious political analysis, make requisite assessments, explain and remove difficulties and advance firmly, step by step, along the charted restructuring route.

You will have noticed that the draft of the address sums up from realistic positions what has been achieved, the difficulties of restructuring and the tasks of home and foreign policies for the term during which the nation's new higher bodies of power will be working. I believe that the draft is, on the whole, a document that we need and can present to the Soviet people.

I would like to invite you, comrades, to closely study and discuss the draft so that at this Central Committee plenary meeting we could endorse a document that would meet the tasks of the modern stage of restructuring.

At the same time it is clear that, as one of the most important political documents, the address will play a greater role, the more thoroughly all party organizations explain and propagate its contents and draw on its underlining ideas. Therefore it will be necessary to back up the appeal with organizational and ideological measures.

The support for its election program by the entire nation and all working people is not the only important thing for the Communist Party. In nominating candidates for

USSR people's deputies the party has a vested interest in actively interacting with all mass organizations and work collectives, in acting, as before, in a united alliance with the non-party masses.

Today as the election campaign enters the phase of candidate nomination, we can state with satisfaction that the wave of grassroots initiative and public activity everywhere raises primarily active supporters of restructuring, both Communists and non-party members, to the ranks of future elected representatives of the people. And this is the most important thing.

Among them are Communists and non-party members, representatives of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, veterans, youth and women. This opens up the possibility to choose the most worthy.

It is also necessary to stress such characteristics of the current election campaign as great openness, democracy and grassroots initiative. The entire society is interested in ensuring that this most important political campaign follows the restructuring processes. But while noting the growth of glasnost, openness, and civic initiative, we nevertheless must view the election campaign not as a chaotic process but as a most important mass campaign whose success can be ensured by a high level of organization and responsibility.

In the conditions which are characteristic of the current election campaign, we may come across absolutely new phenomena—and not only of a positive nature.

Along with the interest of voters, who would like to see their deputies as truly active and ardent supporters of restructuring, capable of making a worthy contribution to the work of the supreme bodies of state power, we can also come against a number of negative phenomena. And there are already facts on this score. I am talking about the manifestations of group egotism, ambition and political careerism. Speculation on the problems connected with the development of relations between nationalities cannot be ruled out either.

Party organizations should take clear-cut and principled positions on all these issues. It is necessary to support the truly front-rank people, to ensure conditions for the objective evaluation of the candidates. And, of course, to seek to have all strata of our society, all nations and ethnic groups represented on the supreme bodies of soviet power as a result of the election campaign. This is of principle importance. The party will take part in the election campaign on this honest basis, proceeding from the democratic nature of the new election law.

So the current election brought forth many new, interesting issues, challenging demands and tasks. Serious ideological work - now and not at some time in the future - is needed if they are to be realized. It should be done on a wide front, everywhere. The press, radio and television should actively join in the election campaign, provide timely coverage of all its aspects and processes, and promtoe the successful holding of elections on principles stemming from the goals of our political reform. Such are some of the important characteristics of the current political situation.

II.

Comrades, we have to discuss at this plenary meeting the question of nominating candidates for USSR people's deputies from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

As is known, on December 9 last year the Commission on the Election of USSR People's Deputies from the CPSU asked through the press, party organizations, members and candidate members of the CPSU to make their proposals on party candidates for deputies' posts.

The commission determined a procedure for submitting these proposals to the CPSU Central Committee. It was decided that proposals concerning Communists working at local level shall be considered in primary party organizations, then in higher party bodies, right up to the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics.

The commission also resolved that proposals on the candidacies of prominent political, state and public figures, outstanding representatives of the working class, collective-farm peasantry, scientists and cultural figures working or living in other republics, territories and regions might be sent directly to the CPSU Central Committee.

So two streams of proposals developed, giving an opportunity to any Communist to participate in the nomination of candidates. This created favorable conditions for the selection of candidates and it justified itself.

The democratic nature of the recent discussion is illustrated by the following data. More than 105,000 primary party organizations took part in the nomination of candidates from among Communists working at local level. They suggested 31,500 candidates to higher bodies for consideration. During subsequent deliberations the city and district committees of the party supported 3,500 candidates.

The discussion was further conducted in regional and territorial party committees, in the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of union republics. Various forms were used—plenary meetings of party committees, meetings of party activists, enlarged meetings of bureaus. Altogether the party committees referred 207 candidates to the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. You have the list of these comrades.

As many as five nominees were proposed to the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee from party organizations of Army units and political bodies after a detailed discussion in the Main Political Department of the Soviet Army and Navy. These comrades are also on the list you have.

Now as regards the proposals that came to the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee directly from party organizations, work collectives and individuals. Altogether some 12,000 telegrams, letters and extracts from decisions of meetings were received. Most of these proposals suggested the nomination of members and alternate members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. Altogether 382 candidates were proposed in this way. About half of these proposals coincided with those discussed in party organizations, so the list of candidates was thus reduced. You have this list too.

So, comrades, we are to choose candidates from among 312 people whose names are on list one and list two, discounting repetitions.

The Politburo has considered all the proposals and submits for your discussion the list of 100 candidates. You have this list too.

I would like to inform the plenum of the considerations by which the Politburo guided itself in compiling the list of candidates. First of all, we were guided by recommendations of party organizations. A comparison of the lists of candidates that came from the republics and the list offered by the Politburo for your discussion illustrate this.

The Politburo also took into consideration the fact that in proposals from the republics preference was given to the most active representatives of the working class and peasantry who have authority. We regard this to be fundamentally important and correct. This approach reflects the real composition of party ranks in which workers and peasants predominate.

It was also taken into consideration that these people have proved themselves over a number of years and particularly in the years of restructuring. They have the necessary political, professional and civic qualities to fulfill their lofty obligations as USSR people's deputies.

You have probably noticed that most of these people are in their prime and are capable of working actively and fruitfully. The party committees submitted detailed references for the comrades whose candidatures are recommended for discussion. If anyone has questions, these can be answered by the first secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics, territorial and regional committees of the party who are present here.

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that among those recommended are many Communists who are well known to most of us. They are known all over the country. In order to illustrate this I may give the names of such people as V.M. Gvozdev, a mineworker from Kemerovo region, V.L. Sidoreiko, an oil-industry worker from Tyumen, M.I. Klepikov from Kuban region, and Y.N. Parubok from the Ukraine.

I also think that everyone knows V.N. Golubev as well as M.G. Vagin, a collective farm chairman, an active advocate of the reorganization of the countryside; K.I. Njuksa, representative of the Latvian working class; and T.B. Kirgizbayeva, a cotton grower and social activist. In this list we can also see eminent scientists and people prominent in the fields of technology and culture.

There are comrades from all the union republics on the candidates' list. We believe this to be of fundamental importance too.

We are also to discuss at this plenum how we shall go about nominating members of the party leadership as candidates from the Soviet Communist Party. The Politburo would like to state its views on this matter and submit them for the plenum's discussion.

As you know, those comrades who are members of the government, except for chairman of the Council of Ministers, cannot be deputies. We proceed from this.

The Politburo deems it expedient that Politburo members and alternate members working in the republics, as well as secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of union republics, of territorial and regional party committees, who were nominated in territorial or national-territorial districts should agree to run in one such district. I must say, though, that party organizations put many of them on the lists of candidates.

As to members and alternate members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, those of them who can be USSR people's deputies under the new law could be nominated candidates from the Soviet Communist Party.

These are the considerations of which I deemed it necessary to inform the plenum.

TASS Details Plenum

LD1001152989 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—By a TASS correspondent:

The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee held a plenum in the Kremlin on Tuesday to nominate candidates to stand in elections to the seats on the Congress of People's Deputies that have been allotted to the party.

This is an important new development in the Soviet electoral system. The democratic new Law on Elections, which was enacted last month, has given the country's social organisations the right to directly elect their representatives to the new national legislature.

These organisations have been assigned 750 out of the total 2,250 seats in the parliament. The largest blocks (100 seats each) go to the party, the trade unions and the cooperatives.

As he delivered a report at the plenum, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the party's Central Committee, stressed the significance of the current election campaign as an important part of the on-going reform of the entire Soviet political system.

He said that at this stage "the role of the party as the political vanguard of society should increase" and it should become the organising and integrating force of society.

Gorbachev noted that the nomination of candidates for the posts of USSR people's deputies from the party took place on a broad-based democratic basis.

More than 100,000 primary party organisations were involved in the process. They suggested a total of 31,500 candidates. These were then considered by party committees at city and district levels and this resulted in 3,500 supported nominees.

These were later discussed at regional level and in the Central Committees of constituent republics. Finally, 207 candidates were offered to the party Central Committee.

The plenum decided to nominate them all to be candidates in elections to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies from the party.

The elections of USSR people's deputies from the party will take place at a CPSU Central Committee plenum on March 15-16, 1989.

Unlike the usual voting (in which the right of decisive votes belongs to full Central Committee members), the vote at the forthcoming plenum will involve a wider circle of party cadres, including alternate members of the Central Committee, members of the party's Central Auditing Commission, first and second secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of constituent republics, leaders of regional party committees, presidents of the presidiums of constituent republics' parliaments and chairmen of their governments, ministers and heads of central state agencies and organisations and commanders of military districts, who do not serve on party central bodies.

The plenum also adopted the Central Committee's address to the party and the Soviet people.

People's Deputies Electoral Campaign Approaches

Officials on Preparations

LD1001235089 Moscow TASS in English 2104 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—Heated discussions at meetings nominating candidates to people's deputies which are being held all over the country, many alternative candidatures and a genuine competitiveness of the electoral campaign are evidence of a democratic nature of the new Law on Elections. This was pointed out by members of the Central Electoral Commission who spoke on Soviet television tonight.

Vladimir Orlov, member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the electoral commission, said that during preparations for the elections district electoral commissions would work especially hard, because apart from the solution of everyday organising problems they would have to control the observance of the Law on Elections. The state will bear all the expenses connected with the preparation and holding of the elections. According to Orlov, some 156 million roubles will be spent on it.

Individuals do not have the right to render material support to candidates, which puts them all in an equal position. "However, this does not mean that all the candidates will campaign in a similar manner, Georgiy Barbashev, Dr. Sc. (law), member of the electoral commission, added. "Much depends on the activity of labour collectives which support their candidates. Perhaps, electors' clubs will be formed".

Three groups of candidates to people's deputies are being nominated, each consisting of 750 deputies. The first group is nominated by territorial constituencies, the second by national-territorial constituencies and the third by public organisations. Although religious associations cannot directly nominate candidates to people's deputies because the church is separated from the state in the USSR, believers can come up with their initiative at territorial constituencies, as well as through various public organisations, Barbashev said. Clergymen can also be included in electoral commissions. For example, Vladimir, metropolitan of Vladimir and Novocherkassk, is a member of the Central Electoral Commission.

Candidate Nomination Procedures

LD1101101989 Moscow TASS in English 0954 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—BY TASS correspondent from the Central Electoral Commission:

The nomination of candidates for the posts of USSR people's deputies is proceeding actively throughout the Soviet Union.

Exactly 2,250 people are to be nominated for the March election to the supreme body of state power. Many hundreds of candidates have already been nominated.

But what is the exact figure? No one knows, neither in the Central Electoral Commission, in the Soviet parliament nor any other central body. And this, strange as it may seem, is an important illustration of democratic changes taking place in the country.

This calls for a more detailed explanation. Prior to perestroyka, the composition of the deputies' corps was regulated, although it was not customary to say that in public. Each republic had its own 'quota' concerning the social composition of candidates and the percentages of women and young people. Clearly, the candidates' nomination process was being managed.

There is nothing of the kind this time. The new democratic Law on Elections (adopted in December 1988) ruled out the possibility of 'orchestrating' an election campaign. People themselves call meetings to nominate without outside interference. The nomination of candidates is proceeding in three groups. Each of them is to elect 750 people's deputies.

The first group includes territorial districts where representation is based on the principle of proportionality: one deputy per 257,300 constituents.

The second group includes national territorial districts within the boundaries of which each republic or autonomous region will be represented by an equal number of deputies irrespective of the number of constituents.

Special mention should be made of the third group because this is an innovation which has no precedent abroad. A third of the deputies' corps will represent the interests of social organisations (the Communist Party, trade unions, creative unions, and so on). They will be elected at plenary session or congresses of these organisations.

Candidates in the first two groups (territorial and national territorial districts) are nominated virtually in the same way—at constituents' meetings at work places or residences. At industrial enterprises and institutions, meetings are most often called by social self-management bodies—the councils of work collective. However, the law does not specify who exactly should be the initiator of the meeting. The only stipulation is that not less than a half of the members of a collective should attend such a meeting. Any collective may nominate an unlimited number of candidates.

Meetings at places of residence, as practice shows, are called by the bodies of public self-administration of residents. For such a meeting to have the right to nominate a candidate, it is necessary that it be attended by not less than 500 people.

The nomination of candidates from social organisations is somewhat different. It is held in several stages. At first, primary organisations send their suggestions to a central body which then votes to determine an official list of candidates. At the second stage, each voter, whether a member of this organisation or not, has a right to express his or her attitude to each candidate. The election of people's deputies will be the concluding stage.

Who may be nominated a candidate? The law specifies: any citizen of the USSR who has reached the age of 21. To tell the truth, there are additional limitations: in case of nomination from territorial and national territorial district, a candidate as a rule should live or work on the territory of the district. As far as public organisations are concerned, a candidate should be, of course, a member of the organisation nominating him.

Introduced to Soviet electoral legislation for the first time is a stipulation allowing any participant in the meeting to suggest him or herself as a candidate. Newspapers, radio and televison report that several people have alredy availed themselves of this opportunity. A candidate is considered nominated if more than a half of the participants in the meeting vote for him.

The nomination of candidates will continue for another two weeks. Then electoral commissions will begin to register the candidates. At that time TASS correspondents will again visit the Central Electoral Commission to get new details of this stage of the election campaign.

Multiple Candidates Discussed

PM1001161489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by V. Shchepotkin, IZVESTIYA deputy editor for the Soviet Building Department, under the rubric "Elections of USSR People's Deputies": "Built-in Resistance"]

[Summary] "At the end of the year I was invited to the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy. I was invited to a debate in the course of which a new phenomenon of our time, contested elections, was to be discussed." The debate centered on the example of an election in Kazan for a deputy to the Tatar ASSR Supreme Soviet. An unsuccessful candidate, Boris Leushin, a raykom first secretary, called on those present at the debate "to discard as quickly as possible the self-satisfied certainty that elections will continue to take place in our country on the basis of the old, conflict-free 'unanimity.'"

The lesson of the Kazan elections is: "In the conditions of the developing democratization of society, the reform of the political system, and the building of a rule-of-law state, many party committees must look more critically at their apparently axiomatic role as leaders." "They now have to rapidly learn democratic methods of political work and struggle."

"More and more people are today seeking to gain influence over their fellow citizens." This includes many social organizations currently engaged in selecting candidates. The Novosibirsk Oblast council of veterans, which had already voted on 3 contenders, held a second meeting to consider not 3, but 10 candidacies, one of which was approved by a majority vote. Council Chairman A. Nikolayev says: "Some people may regard the revote as an annoyance, but I think it helped us all to take another step along the path to democracy."

Nominations have also been contested in the Moscow Oblast women's council, which rejected candidacies put forward by local organizations. "I will not dispute the decision of the Moscow Oblast Women's Council, but I think it is not so easy these days to ignore the activity of the 'grass roots.' These days it is necessary more and more often to expect people to 'refuse to give up.'"

"However, we still often encounter a different phenomenon—neglect for law and protocol." "The USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Scientific Information on Social Sciences decided to hold a party meeting to put forward its proposals on possible candidate USSR people's deputies from the CPSU." Out of 300 party members, just over 100 attended the meeting, which was not a quorum. Someone proposed a postponement. "But those who could and should have put this proposal to the vote did not do so. Evidently this was through force of habit—who would be likely to investigate later how many people were present?"

Those present doubtless took the proceedings for an "empty formality." Candidates were proposed and voted on. "M.S. Gorbachev—unanimous. N.I. Ryzhkov—unanimous. A.N. Yakovlev—unanimous. L.I. Abalkin—93 for. Yu.N. Afanasyev—46 for, 33 against, 14 abstentions. O.R. Latsis—6 against, 3 absentions, the other votes were not counted. N.P. Shmelev—majority in favor, but again the votes were not counted. L.N. Zaykov and B.N. Yeltsin were also voted on as candidates, regardless of the fact that the latter is a minister at present. But here too the meeting was careless, here too its course and vote-counting mechanism do not stand up to criticism."

The institution also held "a 'meeting of the labor collective' which recommended for the so-called trade union list Academicians D.S. Likhachev, R.Z. Sagdeyev, and A.D. Sakharov, at which approximately 150-200 people were present out of a total of over 1,000." When I read about all this, my surprise was unbounded. "Not because of who they voted for and how—it is time we got used to the idea that in a party of nearly 20 million, there are bound to be different opinions. What is striking is something else. It was an institute. Of scientific information. In social sciences (that is particularly surprising!)—intellectuals with titles and knowledge demonstrated, if I may say so, flagrant ignorance of the law and regulations. And then they started to complain because the party meeting was disallowed as invalid.

"But why am I so surprised? Over decades of legal nihilism respect for the spirit and letter of the law has been severely shaken in our society. And that means we must expect to encounter built-in resistance."

*Gorbachev, Others as Candidates

WA1801031489 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Jan 89 First Edition p 1

[Report under the rubric "Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR": "Trust Goes to the Best"]

[Text] **The editors continue to receive reports from our correspondents on nominations of candidates for people's deputies of the USSR. The electors plan to vote for the very best.**

Open party meetings were held in the unit of the Northern Group of Forces in which officers A. Tubolov and G. Yakovenko serve. They discussed nominations for people's deputies of the USSR from the CPSU. The Communists named as worthy deputies M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Army Gen A.D. Lizichev, Chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy. The same nominations were made at a party meeting of the Political Directorate of the Northern Group of Forces. (Lt Col A. Manushkin)

"Whom would you nominate as your candidate for people's deputy of the USSR?" V. Bobrikov, party committee secretary, asked the military construction workers when he opened the meeting of the UNR [work supervisor's section] collective.

"Adamchuk," came a voice from the crowd.

"I consider that to be the right nomination," said Honored Builder of the UkSSR V. Kondrashov. He was supported by other Communists.

Nikolay Lavrovich Adamchuk began his working career as a bricklayer in 1966. After completing a vocational and technical school and serving his term in the army, he worked as a production training instructor and has headed a bricklayers' brigade for more than 10 years now.

Today the brigade is a strong, cohesive and highly productive collective, which can handle the most difficult of construction jobs.

Nikolay Lavrovich has earned prestige and respect in the collective with his excellent mastery of the specialty, his refined knowledge of the job, his great demandingness of himself and subordinates and his fairness in dealing with people. He was elected a member of the party committee. He is chairman of the instructors' council and a

member of the people's control group. He was awarded the prize of soviet trade unions for his success in the work, and last year he was awarded the State Prize of the USSR.

Many good things were said at the meeting about N. Adamchuk. The participants unanimously nominated him as a candidate for people's deputy of the USSR. (Col L. Slizniy)

In the discussion of a nominee for people's deputy of the USSR in the directorates and sections, the staff officers and employees of the Far East Military District named Lt Gen V. Novozhilov, first deputy district commander, more than anyone else. This nomination was at the center of attention also at a meeting of representatives of the directorates and sections of the entire headquarters, held in the large hall of the district officers' club in Khabarovsk.

"We need a deputy who can make a direct impact with respect to strengthening the homeland's Far East borders and who is prepared to defend the social security of the officers and warrant officers during the forthcoming reduction of the Armed Forces and to resolve the issues which will be raised by the electors," said Maj Gen A. Zolotov, chief of the political section of district headquarters and directorates, expressing the opinion of the majority. He told about the life of the candidate for deputy and about the public work he has performed.

When Lt Gen A. Voronin, member of the district military council and chief of the political directorate, Cols V. Ivanov and A. Zubchik, and others spoke, they supported the nomination. The participants resolved to nominate Lt Gen V. Novozhilov as candidate for people's deputy of the USSR from Far East National-Territorial Electoral District No 3.

*Yazov, Moiseyev, Others Selected

WA1801031489 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Jan 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by Lt Col N. Prokop, deputy chief of the political section of the Central Sports Club of the Army: "Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR"]

[Text] **Army and Navy party organizations continue to nominate candidates for people's deputies of the USSR from the Communist Party. The meetings are taking place in a climate of seriousness and are actively discussing urgent issues in our life.**

Many party organizations of the Far East Military District have decided to nominate Army Gen D. Yazov, USSR Minister of Defense, and Col Gen M. Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR and first deputy USSR Minister of Defense, as people's deputies of the USSR from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

District Communists are making other nominations as well. The candidacy of Hero of the Soviet Union Lt Col R. Aushev, regimental commander, received broad support at a meeting of the party aktiv in one of the formations.

A concerned discussion took place at a party meeting in airborne regiment "X." Participants in the meeting listened with interest to a speech by Col Gen N. Kalinin, commander of Airborne Troops and their candidate for people's deputy of the USSR from the CPSU.

Communists in a motorized rifle training regiment of the Volga Military District nominated Maj A. Pavlichenko, secretary of their party committee, as a people's deputy of the USSR. There were only five candidates. Most of those present voted for Maj Pavlichenko.

"I nominated the secretary," said Warrant Officer P. Nazhidalov, " because he knows how to work with people and is capable of standing up for their interests."

The Communists of regiment "X" in the Leningrad Military District named Maj A. Gonchar, secretary of the party committee, as their candidate for people's deputy of the USSR. The program of the nominee for candidate from the CPSU includes improving the combat training, resolving the garrison's social issues, and so forth. The regimental Communists expressed their hope that Maj Gonchar's nomination would receive support also in other district party organizations.

At first it seemed that everything would proceed as usual. The meeting of representatives of the Baltic Fleet's Komsomol aktiv approved the agenda and voted to elect a presidium and a secretariat. The smoothness of the established formalities soon gave way to a lively exchange of opinions and a fierce defense of positions. A serious matter had to be decided! A candidate was to be nominated for people's deputy of the USSR.

In the lobby of the seamen's club Petty Officer 2nd Rank Konstantin Antyufeyev handed me a poster. It contained the name of one of the candidates, Sr Lt Aleksandr Musarenkov, deputy chief for Komsomol work in the political section of a surface ship unit. I learned about his opponent from information heard in the auditorium. Sr Lt Enver Ametov is a Komsomol member of the same rank, but he was nominated from a submarine unit, by the Komsomol organization of the crew on which he had formerly served as a seaman.

After the candidates spoke, they answered numerous, sometimes incisive, questions. The sympathies of those present were clearly with Officer Musarenkov. And he was elected by a majority of the votes as a candidate for people's deputy of the USSR. Several stages of the pre-election campaign still lie ahead, of course. The navy

youth received a political lesson today, however: democracy and the art of debate and political struggle have to be learned. (Reported by a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent)

There are many worthy athletes in the Soviet Army and Navy. It is not just athletic merits which are important in the new situation, however, but primarily whether the individual takes an active stance in life and his ability to work productively for the restructuring. This was discussed by participants in a general meeting of representatives of the army sports community held at the Central Sports Club of the Army for purposes of nominating candidates for people's deputies of the USSR.

Maj Vladimir Salnikov, four-time Olympic champion, was nominated as a candidate. While engaging professionally in sports, he devotes a great deal of time to the club's party and public life, addresses labor and military collectives and enjoys deserved prestige as a principled, responsive and sensitive Communist.

Gorkiy Nomination Process Criticized

PM1001112589 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 10 Jan 89 p 3

[Report by "our own correspondent" V. Noskov: "Glasnost in Short Supply"]

[Text] Gorkiy—Nearly every day the local newspapers publish brief reports about who has been nominated for the post of people's deputy of the USSR. Unfortunately it is hard to understand from these notes how the discussion of candidacies takes place: smoothly and evenly or, on the contrary, heatedly and pointedly.

For instance, here is the story told when she came to the SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondents' center by a worker from the "Krasnoye Sormovo" plant's number three ship hull shop, who asked us not to name her in the newspaper:

"Our party committee suggested nominating one specific candidate in the shop but at a meeting our collective opposed this and named its own candidate. Then party committee representatives went to neighboring shops and started trying to persuade the workers. But why?"

There is other talk in the city too. It is said that some candidates were nominated from organizations and institutions secretly, by a decision made by a narrow circle of leaders or the apparatus.

In response to justified protests people are given vague explanations, being told not to worry, not all the candidates will be elected any way—considerably more candidates than there are seats are now nominated.

People do not know where to address their complaints. I tried last Sunday to find out the address of at least one Gorkiy agitation center. I telephoned to the palaces and centers of culture of the largest enterprises—in reply I heard that they had no agitation centers, there had not yet been any order to open them.

The party gorkom duty officer explained that answers to all these questions should be sought in the electoral commissions created under the party raykoms, but they do not work on Sundays.

Of course, it may be said that the election campaign is only beginning and everything still lies ahead. Yet it is important from the outset not to conduct it according to the old scheme but in a new way, in the spirit of restructuring.

Lukyanov at 6 Jan Supreme Soviet on Elections

LD0601223289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] In the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet a meeting was held today of the secretaries of the presidiums of the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics and of the kray, oblast, and soviet ispolkoms on questions concerning the election of the USSR people's deputies. Lukyanov, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, delivered a report.

He stressed that the election campaign that has unfolded in the country is an important link in the practical implementation of the political reform planned by the party and is taking place at a time of drastic restructuring of all aspects of public relations.

Having given a detailed analysis of the election campaign held everywhere in accordance with the USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies, Comrade Lukyanov noted that the radical renewal of the election system and its genuine democratization create necessary conditions for developing and maintaining electors' level of activity and initiatives in the interests of forming the supreme organ of the state power, which are new in terms of work and functions.

The current stage of the election campaign, nominating deputy candidates, is a key element in the preparations for the elections.

Therefore, the extent of boldness, openness, and consistency with which democratic procedures will be implemented at all stages and the respect shown for the opinion of electors will determine the extent to which it will be guaranteed that really worthy representatives of the working people will get to the supreme organ of power. The whole democratic potential contained in the Law on Elections is aimed at this.

Notices Issued on Developments in Baku 10-11 Jan

Special District Commandant Resigns

NC1101105789 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Order No 16 from the military commandant of the Baku City Special District, issued in Baku on 11 January 1989]

[Text] As of this date, because of illness, I am handing over affairs and duties to Lieutenant General Mikhail Petrovich Kolesnikov.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

162 Detained 10 Jan

NC1001194589 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Notice from Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District, issued 10 January]

[Text] The situation in the city has not changed. During the past 24 hours 162 persons were detained, including 138 for violating the curfew and 6 in accordance with the 23 November 1988 decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Baku Curfew Eased 10 Jan; Theaters To Reopen

PM1001150189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[Special correspondent G. Yakovlev report under the "On the Spot" rubric: "Theaters Await Audiences"]

[Text] Baku—Baku theater posters have reappeared on billboards. This is linked with the fact that, as of 10 January this year, the curfew is to run from 2300 hours to 0500 hours, by order of Colonel General M. Tyagunov, military commander of the Baku Special District. This measure is the result of the stabilization of the situation in the city.

"The troops have no other purpose apart from protecting citizens' lives, honor, and property, maintaining public order, and creating normal conditions for the city's life and work," Col Gen M. Tyagunov said. "The people of Baku realize this. The population has a most amicable attitude toward the soldiers."

I myself saw children playing on armored combat vehicles. I saw girls giving soldiers flowers. I saw an old lady entertaining lads in army uniform with hot cakes.

On the eve of the New Year dozens of combat vehicles stationed on the streets and squares of Baku were decorated with small fir trees and baubles and almost every soldier received gifts. Their difficult duty was probably easier for them that night and their memories of home warmer.

Thus another step has been taken toward normalizing the life of a city with almost 2 million inhabitants. Here is the comment made on this decision by People's Artist Polad Byul Byul-Ogly, Azerbaijan SSR minister of culture, who was appointed to this post last December.

"All creative collectives, not to mention audiences, are very pleased at this news," he said. "All Baku's theaters—opera and ballet—the drama theaters, the Azerbaijan Academy Theater and the Russian Samed Buregun Theater, and musical comedy theaters will begin work from 12 January. The republic's philharmonic society has outlined an extensive program. There will also be an evening program at movie theaters."

Authorization has now been given for all entertainment and sporting events to end by 2130 hours. It is possible to get home before the curfew starts without difficulties. Incidentally, the Baku Soviet has agreed to send buses to every theater as of 12 January to take members of the audience home to remote residential districts after the performances.

"Many people are probably interested in the following question: Will they see you on stage?"

"It would be awkward for me in my position as minister... But I don't know, time will tell."

Azerbaijan To Conduct All-Union Census 12 Jan

NC1101090289 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 11 Jan 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] An all-union census will be conducted tomorrow. The newspapers report that the meeting held at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee yesterday discussed measures taken to organize and put into effect this campaign in the republic. Gasan Gasanov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, summed up the meeting.

El'mira Kafarova, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, and Ziyad Samed-zade, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Social Economy Department [title as heard], participated in the meeting.

Azerbaijan, Armenia Internal Affairs Officials Meet
NC1101155689 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Working to stabilize the situation in the region and create the conditions required for a normal life and work situation for each and every family is one of the most important tasks being realized in Azerbaijan and Armenia at present. The internal affairs organs of the two republics have significant responsibilities in fulfilling these tasks.

The leading officials of the Internal Affairs Ministries of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR held a practical meeting and examined the situation that has been created in the region, the more effective forms and methods that can be applied in the joint effort that is being made to obstruct the moves made by irresponsible individuals to create (?disorders) and incite interethnic hostility, and other matters.

Azerbaijan SSR Minister of Internal Affairs Mamedov and Armenian SSR Minister of Internal Affairs Arutyunyan briefed those present at the meeting on the organizational and practical measures that have been taken to establish law and order in the region.

Particular attention was focused on the work to safeguard the constitutional rights of the citizens, maintain their security, prevent law violations and interethnic crimes, obstruct disruptive activities of corrupt and extremist circles, and identify and expose the provocatours and those who generate rumors and fabrications for the purpose of inciting interethnic hostilities. It was noted that the internal affairs organs are responsible for strengthening the situation in the regions, for realizing Lenin's principle on the [word indistinct] of the penalty for the crimes that are committed, for maintaining justice, and for creating the conditions required for the return of the refugees to their original homes.

The text of the appeal made by the internal affairs ministers and the chiefs of the political departments of the Internal Affairs Ministries of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR to the (?individual committees) of the internal affairs organs of the two republics was approved. The appeal fully approved the appeal made by the Azerbaijan and Armenian Communist Party Central Committees, Supreme Soviet Presidiums, and Councils of Ministers to the citizens who have left their places of permanent residence and noted the need for loyalty toward international, patriotic, and [word indistinct] obligations and for the effective safeguarding of the constitutional rights of the citizens.

The appeal said: The resolute measures, which are well planned and considered and which are in accordance with the laws, will contribute toward the creation of the conditions required for restoring fraternal relations between the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia and the [words indistinct] of the citizens of the two republics. They will also contribute toward their productive work in favor of our united and multinational state.

The establishment of a liaison council headed by the first deputies of the Internal Affairs Ministries and composed of the representatives of the [word indistinct] departments of the Internal Affairs Ministries of the two republics was one of the practical steps taken to normalize the situation.

End To Ethnic Strife in Armenia Sought
PM1001141589 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 27 Dec 89 pp 1, 4

[ARMENPRESS report: "To Galvanize Efforts by Each and Every One. From the Conference in the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] **It has already been reported that a conference held 23 December at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee discussed important tasks of the republic's life. Reports on measures to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake in a number of Armenian rayons were delivered by S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosstroy.** [passage omitted]

The conference examined priority measures to improve the state of interethnic relations in the republic.

It was noted that there was a wide-ranging and detailed exchange of opinions on the causes of the acute interethnic conflict in the region and the ways to settle it at M.S. Gorbachev's 1 December meeting at the CPSU Central Committee with USSR Supreme Soviet deputies representing the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR and the leadership of the two republics and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, in which members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo also took part.

All participants drew the unambiguous conclusion that it is necessary to sit around one table and jointly investigate the causes of mistrust and alienation. It is necessary to display wisdom and restraint, to resolve all issues via compromises and mutual concessions. The prevailing situation must be firmly remedied, and everything must be done to ensure that people's life returns to normal.

Today it is necessary for everyone to realize that unless serious and resolute measures are taken to remedy the situation, there is a likelihood of ending up in an even graver position. It is time to stop and think.

Interethnic relations in the region are extremely exacerbated. Events in a number of rayons are beyond control, legal guarantees of citizens' safety were not ensured, and this led to the mass exodus of Armenians from Azerbaijan and of Azerbaijanis from Armenia. Children,

women, and old people are suffering, and people's minds are in the grip of the mentality of confrontation and interethnic intolerance. Matters have reached the point of interethnic clashes, pogroms, arson, and losses of human life. The population's migration has reached a massive scale.

Here are a few figures: As of 21 December, more than 170,000 Armenian refugees had arrived in the republic from Azerbaijan. Most of them have found temporary shelter with relatives and friends or have been accommodated on school premises. Some Armenian families have either exchanged apartments or acquired ownership of dwelling space, and have settled in these homes. There are, however, numerous instances of refugees being illegally housed in homes abandoned by Azerbaijanis. Such cases have been recorded especially in Noyemberyanskiy, Vardenisskiy, and Amasiyskiy Rayons. This has aggravated the situation further still and has intensified the edginess [nervoznost].

Over the same period, more than 130,000 Azerbaijanis have abandoned their place of permanent residence and have moved outside the republic's boundaries. There were instances of a mass exodus by persons of Azerbaijani nationality in a number of rayons. Virtually all the Azerbaijani inhabitants of some cities and rayons have departed.

It is impossible to overlook that fact that it is mainly city dwellers who are arriving here in Armenia, while it is rural inhabitants who are departing. These groups are not interchangeable. Consequently, a complex situation has developed in a number of rural rayons. More than 90 primary party organizations have ceased to exist and over 4,500 Communists have been detached from their primary party organizations. Owing to the departure of about 2,000 deputies of rayon, rural, and settlement soviets and deputies of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, 450 enterprise and organization leaders, and numerous teachers and medical workers, some 30 rural soviets are not in a position to exercise their powers and 15 of them have ceased functioning. Many kolkhozes and sovkhozes have suffered losses, and more than 80 schools and about 10 medical service centers have been closed down.

These events provide the background for frenzied activity by members of the "Karabakh" committee aktiv.

Trampling the democratic norms of society, the committee members and the elements following in their wake applied all efforts to whip up passions, to fan interethnic dissension, and to call for extreme measures. Pressure was exerted by members of the committee aktiv on representatives of the authorities, on party and soviet officials, and on public transport drivers; pickets were organized to block enterprises, and insults were hurled at those who refused to heed their requests. There was downright trampling of all laws.

Moreover, the committee members virtually usurped the right to speak on behalf of the people. Many people were afraid to openly express their opinion and to rebuff their senseless slogans. And this has been happening now, in the conditions of glasnost and democracy.

Unfortunately, a sizeable proportion of the party aktiv, including many leadership cadres and even Central Committee members, did not always take a principled stand, did not rebuff the irresponsible individuals leaning toward adventurism. It was emphasized at the conference that it is necessary to take them rigorously to task for their lack of principle. At the same time, it is necessary to investigate how all this could have happened, and who it was that incited people to act in a provocative manner. The strictest of proceedings must be instituted against the culprits, not only along party lines but also along criminal lines.

The banner of Nagorno-Karabakh is waved by individuals who are least of all interested in the fate of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. They continue in an unseemly manner to toy with people's national feelings for the purpose of even greater destabilization of the situation in the republic and of distracting the attention of party and soviet organs from the solution of urgent socioeconomic problems, from the struggle against negative phenomena and their instigators.

The conference noted that the Nagorno-Karabakh problem cannot be identified with the "Karabakh" committee which, under the pretext of demanding a fair solution to the Karabakh question, is waging an open struggle for power.

The conference noted that the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee produced a principled appraisal of the negative phenomena, omissions, and miscalculations which have built up in our interethnic relations. The task today is to ensure that party committees, primary party organizations, and local soviets elaborate a precise program for work to overcome negative phenomena. It is a matter of honor and a party and civic duty of Communists and all working people in the republic to work for the earliest possible normalization of the situation in the rayons and to improve the state of interethnic relations.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau recently adopted a series of important resolutions, including the 29 November 1988 resolution "On the Situation in the Republic and Urgent Measures for Its Normalization" and the 23 December 1988 resolution "On the Facts of Mass Exodus by the Azerbaijani Population from the Armenian SSR and Measures To Improve the State of Interethnic Relations," which outline a specific program to stabilize the situation in the republic, halt the migration processes, and create the conditions necessary for the population's normal labor

and daily life. Measures are planned, aimed at stepping up work to radically improve internationalist education and resolutely cut short any attempts to whip up inter-ethnic dissension.

Confrontation and mass migration by large population groups—these represent the tragedy of hundreds of thousands of people, new alarm in their hearts, and crushed hopes for the future. It is time to put an end to this phenomenon and to take effective measures for the return of refugees to their place of permanent residence, the provision of reliable guarantees of their security, and the creation of conditions necessary for their normal labor and daily life. Everything necessary must be done to ensure that the population of the two neighboring republics may live in peace and accord and actively work for the sake of implementing the tasks of restructuring. [passage omitted]

Correspondents Report on Closure of Armenian AES

LD1101035789 Moscow Televison Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a decision on halting the power blocks of the Armenian AES and on measures to insure the supply of power to the Transcaucasian republics. Our special correspondents report from Yerevan.

[First correspondent] The Armenian AES [video shows long shot of AES]. The electronic memory of its computers have retained the seismograms of that alarming day. Special gauges installed at various points in the power complex recorded this graphic picture of the terrible underground elemental force in the region of the AES. [video shows gauges and equipment demonstrating earthquake's effect]

[G.K. Arakelyan, head of the AES seismometry laboratory—identified by screen caption] On 7 December, during the earthquake, our lab registered a maximum intesity of five and one-half points. [scale not specified]

[First correspondent] How was the station operating?

[Arakelyan] The station was operating normally, so there was no need for an emergency shut-down.

[First correspondent] But, as station director (Miran Tigranovich Vartanyan) rightly says, one cannot be casual with regard to an AES, and this is even more the case in such a difficult seismic situation.

[Vartanyan] The earthquake could have been here, then it would be been impossible to predict what would have happened to us.

[Second correspondent] It was for this reason that the decision, unprecedented in the history of atomic power engineering, was made to halt the nuclear reactor. On 25 February, the first power block of the Armenian AES will come to a standstill, and the second on 18 March. The entire working load will have to be taken on by the power enterprises of Transcaucasia. Ten days have been allocated for this.

[Vartanyan] The station has functioned for 12 years. The station has given much to the national economy of our republic and also to the Transcaucasus as a whole. As an engineer, it is very painful for me to see and to think that our marvellous station will be closed. However, this decision was made by the government, by our Central Committee rightly and in an opportune manner.

[Second correspondent] After the necessary preparation and reconstruction, the Armenian AES will be re-equipped as a thermal, and thus safer station. However, this will require time. Here, the power engineers of the Razdan, Tbilisi, and Azerbaijan state regional electric power stations will have to provide their friendly support.

Earthquake Relief Commission Meets 9 Jan

PM1001160389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the rubric "In the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission": "Program of Real Action"]

[Text] Increasing the extraction of tuff—one of Armenia's basic construction materials, in which the republic is so rich and which is so needed now for rebuilding its villages and cities devastated by the earthquake—largely depends on how soon the Leninakan Stone-Cutting Machinery Plant is brought into action. That is because it is the only enterprise in the country to manufacture this product. The elemental forces interrupted its activity, although as early as in the first quarter of this year its workshops, rebuilt from the ruins, will once again begin to produce stone-cutting machinery.

We are convinced of this by the specific action program adopted by the all-union Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building to speed up the plant's being brought back into operation. It devotes a great deal of attention to the solution of the plant collective's social problems and to the present situation of workers and their families: Where they are to live, what kind of work they are to do at present, and what the future holds for them—the program gives clear, precise answers to all these questions.

The responsible approach taken by the Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building to the fate of this enterprise under its jurisdiction was

approved at a regular session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission conducted on 9 January by Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The commission noted that, thanks to the efforts of the union and republic ministries and departments involved in the process of eliminating the consequences of the Armenian earthquake, the drafting of the most important programs for restoring the afflicted regions to normal life is now basically complete. Four main areas were highlighted: Large-scale housing construction, the restoration and reconstruction of industry and the agro-industrial complex, and also the creation of an infrastructure for cities and settlements. The finer points of these programs are now being worked out, and the programs will be definitively approved by the commission in the second 10-day period in January.

The plans of most ministries and departments are distinguished by their detailed, specific nature. In particular, the program to develop railways in Armenia, which has been submitted by the USSR Ministry of Railways, plans to more than double freight turnover—from 18.5 to 40 million tonnes per year. Clear, detailed plans of action have also been presented by the USSR Gosagroprom, the USSR Health Ministry, and other ministries and departments.

At the same time, the commission session sharply criticized the Armenian SSR Ministry of Light Industry. Before the earthquake, enterprises in this sector employed most of the able-bodied population in Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak, and other cities in the disaster region. The ministry has been unable to draw up a program that would offer real proposals with regard to finding employment for some 40,000 people and improving their social conditions.

For various reasons, some 80,000 children of school and preschool age are still in the disaster region. However, the republic's Ministry of Education has still not really taken any serious measures to organize their schooling and education. The commission condemned the irresponsible attitude taken by leaders of the ministry and confirmed that priority should be given to the solution of education issues.

The commission indicated the need to fully complete the drafting of meaningful, specific programs in the near future to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake.

Armenian Prosecutors Dismissed Over Errors

PM1001105989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "At the Armenian SSR Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] An enlarged session of the Armenian SSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium chaired by V. Nazaryan, who was appointed republic prosecutor in December, has discussed the tasks of prosecutor's office organs to fulfill the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau resolution "On Urgent Tasks To Prevent Instances of Interethnic Clashes in the Republic."

It was noted that an extremely tense and explosive situation has been created in the republic on the basis of unhealthy speculation over the Nagorno-Karabakh problem and as a result of the illegal and unpunished activity of activists from the disbanded "Karabakh" committee and other extremist elements.

The unsanctioned rallies and meetings, at which passions were constantly kindled, and the subsequent group hooligan actions accompanied by blackmail, threats, physical reprisals, encroachments on citizens' life and dignity, and resistance to representatives of the authorities showed the presence in the republic of antirestructuring groups alarmed by the changes under way in the country, which pose a threat to their well-being and impunity.

The dangerous development of events in the republic was in many respects facilitated by concessions to "figures" from the disbanded "Karabakh" committee and by the backsliding from principled internationalist positions of a number of leaders of soviet and economic organs. As passions grew, prosecutors and leaders of internal affairs organs lost control of the development of events and were unable to maintain law and order and ensure the population's public safety and observance of the demands of the USSR Constitution and other laws by the republic's officials and citizens. The collegium session also noted serious shortcomings in the activity of the republic prosecutor's office apparatus, which proved unable to properly organize the work of prosecutor's office organs to combat interethnically based offenses.

By decision of the Armenian SSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium N. Pakhlevanyan, Sevanskiy Rayon prosecutor, R. Saryan, Kalininskiy Rayon prosecutor, and B. Vasilyan, Abovyanskiy Rayon prosecutor, were relieved of their posts for their unsatisfactory organization of work to prevent offenses, irresponsibility, and indecisiveness, which resulted in the exacerbation of interethnic relations. G. Sardaryan, Stepanavanskiy Rayon prosecutor, S. Tsagikyan, Masisskiy Rayon prosecutor, R. Adamyan, Araratskiy Rayon prosecutor, and T. Khandzhyan, Gorisskiy Rayon prosecutor, were strictly disciplined. It was recommended that G. Markaryan, Gugarkskiy Rayon prosecutor, not hold this post for another constitutional term. The question of his position will be discussed after the close of the investigation into the murders in Gugarkskiy Rayon.

Having deemed the work of prosecutors in a number of the republic's cities and rayons to be unsatisfactory, the Armenian SSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium demanded that they immediately take the requisite measures to eliminate the gross mistakes, miscalculations, and shortcomings in their work and strictly fulfill the demands of

the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau resolution "On Urgent Measures To Prevent Cases of Interethnic Clashes in the Republic."

Estonia Orders Baltic Jamming Facility Closed

LD1101123689 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Estonia's Ministry of Communications on the Baltic has ordered the closure of a jamming facility that was used against Western radio stations. This is one of new features of the policy of glasnost in this country. Jamming has ended in other republics as well. The facilities released from that will be used to enlarge the foreign and domestic broadcasting in the USSR.

Estonian Draft Law on Language Criticized

PM1001122689 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor A. Pigolkin and Candidate of Juridical Sciences M. Studenikina: "Language and Law: The Draft Law on Language Published in Estonia From the Viewpoint of Legal Scientists"]

[Text] In what language should you publish laws, conduct business correspondence, speak at sessions of the soviets, exercise the defense of your rights in court? To what school—Russian or national—should you send your children, what language should you study, in what language should you publish prose and poetry? All these questions are posed every day by life in our multinational family. For each of the more than 100 nations and ethnic groups living in the country, the development of the native language, the protection of its purity and uniqueness, and the preservation of national culture and traditions is a very important task. Each people's language is unique and special.

There is another problem too—how do you communicate with each other, make yourself understood, and cooperate, if people are speaking different languages? After all, at many enterprises multinational collectives are not the exception, but the rule. The national economic complex in our country is unified, and without a common linguistic means of communication it is rather hard, if not impossible, to get by. The language problem is acute in the army too: For a young man, ignorance of the Russian language is both a tragedy for him personally and a serious inconvenience for the conduct of his service.

It must regrettably be admitted that in the not too distant future, against the background of ostentatious talk about the friendship and indissoluble unity of the USSR's peoples, a trend toward the narrowing of the sphere of use of national languages in the republics began to intensify markedly. Teaching in the native language, the publication of literature and the repertoire of theaters and movie theaters in the national languages, and so forth have been gradually reduced. The democratic principle of freedom of choice of the language of tuition was interpreted in some places as an opportunity to entirely avoid any study of the native language. In the guise of internationalization, Russian gradually became the only language in business and in relations among official bodies, enterprises, and institutions. The one-sided emphasis on the spread of the Russian language became virtually the equivalent of internationalism, while propaganda of national languages was a manifestation of nationalism. This disrupted the harmonious development of bilingualism as an important principle of nationalities and language policy. The situation was further complicated, and is still more so today, by the fact that in our country we do not have a sufficiently precise legislative definition of the status, functions, and spheres of use of national languages or of Russian as the means of communication between nationalities. Yet in many foreign states with a multinational structure, legislation on language is extensive and detailed. It exists, for instance, in Canada, Switzerland, India, Austria, and Luxembourg.

In short, restructuring is demanding entry to the sphere of language too—the existing situation must be rectified. In the union republics, they have begun to seek a way out of the situation by revitalizing and stepping up the functions of the national language and giving it the status of the state language. This path has been taken, in particular, in the Estonian SSR, where a draft Law on Language has been drawn up. Incidentally, in the three Transcaucasian republics the languages of the indigenous nationality have been state languages constitutionally for a long time.

The draft is being discussed actively in the newspapers and in labor collectives and creative unions. The debates and conflict of opinions over it continue unabated. Many of its provisions are very constructive. They help to ensure the further development of the Estonian language and literature, preserve and revive linguistic traditions, and create the conditions for the study and free use of the Estonian language in the republic. However, there are, in our opinion, some "buts" too.

The draft reproduces the recently adopted amendment to the republic's Constitution on acknowledging Estonian to be the state language on its territory. This provision can hardly arouse any objections in itself. But the definition of the status of the Estonian language should not encroach on the rights of citizens of other nationalities, of whom there are a good many in the republic. The law should make provision for precise, detailed guarantees of the free use of the languages of other peoples in order to ensure Lenin's tenet on the equality of languages and the impermissibility of privileges of any kind for any one nation or language. At present, to be frank, a number of provisions of the draft are aimed at asserting the paramount character of Estonian, which in effect restricts the rights of the population speaking other languages and runs counter both to our

own all-union laws and to international pacts on economic, social, and cultural rights and on civil and political rights. These provide for the safeguarding of the individual's rights without discrimination with regard to language.

The draft was published for discussion in Estonia twice. And although in its later, reworked version some provisions on the paramount character of Estonian and restrictions on the languages of other peoples of the USSR are slightly mitigated, nonetheless one can still trace an attempt to establish by legislative means the inequality of the population speaking other languages in relation to the indigenous language. The provision remains, for instance, that the Estonian SSR **ensures** throughout its territory the **provision of education in the Estonian language**. (Here and subsequently the emphasis is ours—Authors.) For the non-Estonian population the draft acknowledges only the equal **right to the provision of state public education in the native language** (Article 19 of the draft). The difference in these formulations, which looks insignificant at first, can be interpreted to mean that it is not the duty of the republic to ensure the provision of education in a language other than Estonian. That could lead to the flouting of the rights of the population speaking other languages, who account for 40 percent of the republic's inhabitants. Article 19 of the draft, in its present form, is at variance with Article 20 of the Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics on Public Education.

Certain other provisions of the draft are also at variance with existing all-union legislation in their thrust and specific content. Thus under Articles 4 and 37 professional requirements for language knowledge are set for all leadership workers, workers on organs of power and management, social organizations, the law enforcement system, and organs for the protection of public order and supervision, medical personnel, journalists, workers in the sphere of service, trade, communications, and accident and rescue services, and others whose jobs involve contact with private individuals. Meeting the professional requirements in the sphere of language, Section 2 of Article 4 notes, is a preliminary condition for the conclusion and renewal of a labor contract with the persons listed.

Setting these requirements as qualifications for employment in certain posts is probably permissible in itself. But it can hardly be the union republic's right to do this. The setting of requirements of this kind is, under existing legislation, the prerogative of the union. And we believe that there are not sufficient grounds here for changing anything as regards redistribution of competence between the USSR and the union republics. In the conditions of an integrated national economic complex these requirements should be the same for all regions of our huge state. Especially since these requirements are associated with citizens' constitutional right to work.

Article 18 of the draft, governing the language of judicial proceedings, is also at variance with Article 159 of the USSR Constitution and corresponding articles of the All-Union Fundamentals of Legislation on Judicial Administration and Proceedings. The draft specifies **without any alternative** that judicial proceedings are conducted in Estonian. Yet all-union legislation also provides for the possibility of conducting trials in the language of the majority of the population in a given locality. This important guarantee of citizens' equality should not be lost, either.

The draft contains a number of other restrictions on the rights of citizens speaking other languages. Thus under Article 8 of the draft, sessions and working meetings of organs of state power and state administration of the Estonian SSR will be conducted in Estonian. But in that case it would be just to lay down additional rules guaranteeing the opportunity for people who do not speak Estonian to speak in their own language. If this is not done, the law will basically deprive persons of other nationalities who have a poor command of Estonian of the possibility of actively participating in the management of state affairs and in the republic's public life.

The draft stipulates that the use of Russian for business purposes at enterprises, institutions, and organizations is permitted only on the basis of an application from them for a specific period after appropriate coordination according to the procedure laid down by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium (Article 12, Section 2). In localities where Russian and other languages are used by the majority of the population (Article 36), provision is made only for a postponement of the transition to Estonian. Thus it is proposed that business proceedings be switched everywhere, on a virtually compulsory basis, from Russian (on territories where the majority of the population speak other languages) to Estonian. So people who do not have a command of Estonian will be placed in a patently unequal position in relation to people of indigenous nationality. Will this not lead to the enforced erosion from the state apparatus and the production sphere of cadres who, for objective reasons, have not managed to learn Estonian adequately?

In the section "Education, Science, and Culture" the emphasis is on how all vocational and technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational establishments will operate in Estonian, while persons not of Estonian nationality will be given the opportunity to continue to study in Russian-language study groups. If these provisions are compared with the procedure for application of the law, the conclusion that springs to mind is that ultimately teaching at all educational establishments of this kind will be carried out in Estonian. But how will people who have graduated from these institutions solely in Estonian be able to improve their professional knowledge, work for higher degrees, or work in the system of the Academy of Sciences and other all-union scientific institutions? After all, it is clear from the draft that Russian will not be a compulsory subject.

There is no mention anywhere in the draft of Russian as the language of communication between nationalities. Of course, bilingualism cannot be imposed on the republic from above. But in the conditions of shared life within the framework of a single multinational state, it is basically an objective necessity. Not to admit this is simultaneously to impoverish your own people, restrict their access to the achievements of the culture, science, and technology of our country and the world, and make it more difficult for republics to cooperate and for citizens of different nationalities to communicate.

We believe the draft could only gain by reflecting more fully and consistently the provisions contained in the resolution "On Interethnic Relations" adopted by the 19th All-Union Party Conference and by being brought fully into line with the USSR Constitution and other acts of all-union legislation.

The legislative regulation of a whole range of questions of the development and use of the languages of the USSR's peoples is a wide and all-embracing problem. We need a package of acts, including an all-union law on language and corresponding republican acts. A draft USSR law on the free development and equal use of the languages of the USSR's peoples is now in preparation. In our view it would be expedient to publish it speedily for wide discussion, because laws on language are already in preparation in certain other republics in addition to Estonia, but in a multinational state it is simply not possible to resolve this task "on an individual basis." It would be useful to discuss all the drafts together, so as to work out a wise, balanced, and comprehensive legislative solution to all national language problems.

Here the main thing is to give fair consideration to the interests of all the peoples of our multinational family and guarantee in legislation the true equality of their languages. It is apposite to recall V.I. Lenin's well-known words to the effect that legislative activity must be very circumspect and you should look before you leap when adopting a new legislative decision. We think that this precept applies first and foremost to legislation on language.

Estonian Official Outlines Cultural Fears

LD1101235689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Interview with Mikk Titma, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, by unidentified Moscow Radio correspondent; date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] You could say that you, Mikk Titma, are marking you own anniversary. Today it is 1 month since you took over the new post of secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee responsible for ideology. What has happened during this month in your life and in the life of the party organization in the republic based on your first impressions?

[Titma] Well, like any new person in a job I have been sizing things up. Rather heated debates are going on there about the problem of the priority of Estonians on their own soil and in connection with this, problems about where precisely these national interests arise are being felt particularly intensely. One of these problems is without doubt the question of the state language. Estonians and Estonian culture is a unique phenomenon, so if it did not exist the world would be a poorer place. There would certainly be some losses.

Preserving such a national culture is the raison d'etre of Estonians. This has to be understood. Unfortunately, both the language and the area inhabitated by Estonians are declining. Whole parts of Estonia have virtually become Russian language areas. This alarms Estonians but the point at issue here is not one of privileges but the problem of a national culture.

Here it is very important that there should be some consolidation. In what way? We may have different interests or different aspirations even, but at the same time we must understand that we live together and we will also be living together after these events. Consolidation means that in the name of the chief goals of restructuring we must resolve these nationalist issues and remove them.

[Correspondent] Despite the fact that heated debates are going on here at the moment on the status of language, the law on language, and the very existence of the Estonian language on the territory of Estonia, this should not be perceived as street battles because in fact relations between the two language communities in Estonia are quite normal, the same as they have always been. These are still rather theoretical battles. It seems to me that the forthcoming session, and the adoption of the law on language are one of the consolidation points for the entire population of Estonia. Second, won't the election campaign going on at the moment be the second point?

[Titma] We have to elect people in Estonia to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the congress who will be able to be really effective Soviet parliamentarians in our common new parliament and represent Estonia as a sovereign republic.

Estonian Popular Front Leader Interviewed

PM0601144489 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 21 Dec 88 p 12

[Report on interview with Estonian Popular Front leader Reyn Veydemann by Bjarne Nitovuori: "Reform Movement Now Directing Efforts Toward Election"—date, place not given]

[Text] The election of Estonian delegates to the Soviet Union's Supreme Soviet next spring and the election of a new Estonian parliament next fall are the political events to which the Estonian reform movement is now directing its efforts. So said one of the brains behind the

Rahvarinne, or Popular Front, Reyn Veydemann. Veydemann is chief editor of the journal, VIKERKAAR (Rainbow), perhaps the foremost mouthpiece for the new ideas.

As well as being a member of the 7-man governing body of the Popular Front, Veydemann is also a member of the Estonian Communist Party.

According to the electoral law, which has still not been finalized, registered organizations—and not just the Communist Party—will be able to field candidates.

"But the Popular Front does not intend to nominate any candidates of its own. We will say instead that these or those candidates are suitable, regardless of who has fielded them," Veydemann said.

But it is clear that the Popular Front and its local support groups will arrange meeting to examine candidates and discover their views.

Estonia has only four representatives on the Soviet Union's Supreme Soviet. That is why this election is particularly important. The important thing is that the delegates are empowered to take part in the decision-making in Moscow and represent Estonia's interests regardless of whether they are party secretaries, ministers, or ordinary people, Veydemann said.

This fall there will be a totally new situation when the new Estonian Supreme Soviet is elected. Then the Popular Front will really be put to the test. For the Communist Party too the election could be difficult. After decades of a crisis of confidence between the Estonian Communist Party and the people, it is only in the last few months that the Estonian Communist Party has succeeded in winning the confidence of the people. Now the people will also have other alternatives and this could lead to a vote of no confidence for the party.

Veydemann said that he hopes that the Communist Party leadership has sufficient wisdom not to speak out publicly and say which are the party's candidates and which are not. Otherwise it could easily be seen as a vote of no confidence if the party's candidates are defeated.

Veydemann was not simply saying this as a party member concerned about the party's position. He also thinks it in the interests of the Estonian people in the present situation that the party's position not be undermined. He did not say so directly, but presumably he takes the view that the party is needed for relations with Moscow.

As recently as last spring it looked as though the Popular Front still had the initiative in the reform movement. At the 11th session of the Central Committee in September the party gave its clear backing to a reformist line and now it can be said that there is a balance between the party and the Popular Front. This is a good thing, Veydemann said.

"A precondition for democracy is that the power groups in society keep a check on each other. We in the Popular Front are keeping a check on the party, and the party is keeping a check on the Popular Front," he said.

According to Veydemann, the worrying thing about developments in the party is that the flight from the party is continuing. According to party rules, a member cannot resign from the party, but can only be expelled. This has now become a dead letter, and those who want to can leave the party.

The Estonian Communist Party is now facing a difficult task. The party must win the confidence of the people through its own actions.

What ideology lies behind the Estonian reform movement?

"We do not have any special ideology. You could say that we find ourselves in a phase of liberation from the communist religion, the dogmas of communism," Veydemann replied.

"We are no longer talking about real socialism. We have adopted a pragmatic standpoint, for it is only in this way that we can get out of the present crisis. We have lost faith in all the beautiful words, because they have not helped us."

The pragmatic philosophy is founded on a sort of relativism, Veydemann went on to explain. Of course the movement has fine goals such as a more independent Estonia, and so on, but the pragmatic approach is shown above all in the fact that the majority of issues are tactical. An example of this is that the whole force of the Popular Front is now being directed toward the forthcoming elections.

It is the tactical issues which are now the key issues in today's Estonia. Veydemann believes that a majority of the people realize very well that not everything can be achieved at once and that compromises must sometimes be accepted.

"It is possible that I am a romantic when I say that I believe in the reasonableness of the Estonian people," he said.

However, he assured me that the Estonians are standing firm on their objectives at the same time as they are prepared to reach compromises.

"The compromises are some of the most difficult things. This is something that we are learning and the period of learning can be very painful," he said.

Veydemann is an optimist in that he does not believe that Estonians will be divided on the tactical issue, with the result that a significant group loses patience and goes its own way, while another group adheres to the cautious tactics that have been chosen.

"That risk is not very great. But if it does happen, it will be not because of us and our extremist circles, but because of Moscow's policies," Veydemann said.

He did not give a direct answer to the question whether Moscow might consciously attempt to provoke a split in order to put an end to the reform movement. He stressed, however, that it is important for the Estonians to convince the leaders in Moscow that the reforms in Estonia are part of restructuring and that they are of benefit to the whole of the Soviet Union.

Estonian Front Sues TASS Correspondents

AU0701183289 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 6 Jan 89 p 1

["HJU" report: "Estonian National Front Sues TASS Journalists"]

[Text] Tallinn—Does the Soviet press now have to face investigations by the courts? Three leading figures of the Estonian National Front, Savisaar, Lauristin, and Koik [spelling of all three names as published], have filed suits with the Tallinn People's Court for slander against two correspondents of the Soviet news agency TASS in Tallinn, Vlasov and Deinenko [spelling as published]. The two defendants did not appear at two hearings. In the meantime, they have been called back to Moscow and replaced by two new correspondents. A new hearing has been set for 17 January. According to Estonian law, a judgment by default can be passed if a defendant does not appear three times.

The plaintiffs stated that the TASS representatives had damaged the honor and dignity of the National Front. They referred to section eight of the Estonian Civil Code. In two reports the Front was called an antidemocratic organization and was accused of having usurped the right to make statements on behalf of the entire population of the Estonian SSR. One of the reports gives the impression that the Front is some sort of terrorist organization and responsible for various acts of sabotage in factories in Tallinn. The Front has also been accused of arson in a trade center in Tallinn that is administered by Moscow. Even though neither of the two reports was published in full in the central organ, they were certainly used as information for other reports.

In the courtroom Savisaar called for condemnation of the "dirt campaign" of the central press. He said: "We want to have truth reestablished and to reject disinformation." Koik found it strange that the two TASS correspondents had not tried to establish contacts with the Front.

The suit against TASS is an expression of discontent in Estonia about the recent way of reporting about the country in the central press.

Estonian, Lithuanian Fronts Name Representative

AU1001144289 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 10 Jan 89 p 2

["E.L." report: "Representative to the West Appointed"]

[Text] The Hague, 9 January—At the beginning of January, the Lithuanian reform movement "Sajudis" and the Estonian "Popular Front" appointed a representative, who is to maintain contact between these two mass organizations and the European Parliament in Strasbourg and speak on their behalf. This task was given to exile Lithuanian Algis Klimaitis, secretary of "Baltic Intergroup" in the European Parliament. Until recently, he headed the information office of the "Baltic World Council" exile organization at the European Parliament and has been given corresponding authorization documents by representative bodies of the two reform movements. Both movements strive to reestablish their countries' sovereignty as states; after the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia were occupied by Soviet troops and were afterward integrated in the Soviet Union.

200,000 Members

According to himself, Klimaitis was entrusted with this function during a stay in the two Baltic states; the authorizing documents were approved in elected representative bodies of the two reform movements after a vote had been taken previously and bear the signatures of Vytautas Landsbergis (Lietuvos Persitvarkymo Sajudis) and Kostel Gerndorf (Eestimaa Rahvarinde Eestseisus). Klimaitis' function is limited in time until 1 January 1990. According to Klimaitis, "Sajudis" has more than 200,000 organized, mostly noncommunist members at present; many of them are in hundreds of support groups, which have meanwhile been formed in many Lithuanian enterprises. The list of signatures organized by "Sajudis" last autumn against a further restriction of the rights of the republic by changing the Soviet Union's Constitution was signed by 1.8 million Lithuanians. According to this information, the Estonian "Popular Front" has more than 100,000 organized members.

In its letter, the Seimas Council (Parliament) of the Lithuanian reform movement empowers Klimaitis, among other things, to establish a "Sajudis Information Center" at the European Parliament, which is to exchange documents and press material about Eastern Europe, Lithuania, and the other Baltic states with the European Parliament, to represent the movement on the basis of the "Sajudis" documents and within the framework of a status of Lithuania that is recognized under international law, and to hold preliminary talks between "Sajudis" and other independent European movements

with the goal of establishing mutual contacts. The representative is also to represent the interests of the Lithuanian movement via "Baltic Intergroup" or the "Sajudis Information Center" in case it is granted support from other sides. The Estonian "Popular Front" empowers the representative, as the letter says, to represent it at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg in addition to the European Parliament, to make short political statements on its behalf, to organize the exchange of information, and to conduct preliminary negotiations on behalf of the "Popular Front" with movements, organizations, and companies in Western countries.

Now Klimaitis wants to find out how future contact between the two Baltic reform movements and the European Parliament and the Council of Europe can be established. In the past, both bodies repeatedly advocated the reestablishment of the sovereignty and the observance of human rights in the three Baltic states. Klimaitis reported that in his speech on television at the end of the year, Lithuanian party chief Algirdas Brazauskas expressed the willingness to reestablish "statehood in international law" and promised that it is intended to move toward sovereignty. However, over the past months, Brazauskas has repeatedly stressed that he rejects Lithuania's withdrawal from the union of Soviet republics.

Lithuanian Liberty League Appeals to UN

LD110115 .489 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North American 0100 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Resolution of Lithuanian Liberty League, read by Leonas Laurinskas at 10 January rally at Kalnu Park in Vilnius—recorded]

[Text] On 10 January 1941, Molotov, representative of the Soviet Union and Count Von Schollenburg, ambassador of the German Reich in Moscow, signed a secret protocol according to which the Soviet Union pledged to pay $7.5 million in gold to the German reich to compensate for the violation of the regulation of the 28 September 1939 secret protocol.

Thus, the division of the territory of the Lithuanian republic, a member of the League of Nations, had been completed with the occupation of Lithuanian territory, which had been alloted to the German reich. The final incorporation of independent Lithuania into the USSR had been completed.

Almost half a century has passed. Ignoring the struggle of the Lithuanian nation for freedom and independence, the USSR authorities remain faithful to the ideas of their predecessors; we remain enslaved. Numerous members of the USSR Armed Forces are stationed on the territory of Lithuanian. Therefore, in protest the continuing colonization of the three Baltic states, we, participants of this rally, appeal to the UN Decolonization Commission and to the world public drawing their attention to this crude violation of the vital rights of the nations.

We request that the issue of abandoning the occupation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia should be included in the agenda of the next UN General Assembly.

This is signed by the representatives who spoke here on behalf of the parties.

5,000-6,000 Attend Vilnius Rally

LD1101133889 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] A rally organized by the Lithuanian Liberty League, which took place tonight at Kalnu Park in Vilnius, was attended by approximatley 5,000-6,000 people. The announcement of the rally was published twice yesterday and today by the Vilnius evening paper VAKARINES NAUJIENOS.

The topic of the rally was announced as Discussions on the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact Secret Protocols. However, the day of the rally was identified with a concrete historical date: on 10 January 1941 a secret protocol was signed by Molotov and the German ambassador in Moscow, according to which the Soviet Union pledged to pay $7.5 million in gold to the reich as compensation for the violation of the secret protocol signed by the two states on 28 September 1939. According to those documents, the two states divided and redivided the territory of Lithuania, most drastically violating the norms of international law.

Rallies in condemnation of these plots have been taking place in Lithuania since the autumn of 1987. More than 20 people spoke at today's meeting, which was chaired by Antanas Terleckas, a leader of the Lithuanian Liberty League. Most of the speakers were introduced as representatives of the Lithuanian Democratic Party, the Lithuanian National Youth Union, and the Lithuanian Liberty League. It was stated at the rally that the Lithuanian Democratic Party is now being formed and an organizational group has been set up.

The speakers widely differed in how they prepard their speeches. When the meeting was half over—it lasted more than 2 hours—some of the people began to disperse and the rally finished with half the initial number of 5,000-6,000 thousand participants.

Less than half the speakers spoke about the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact secret protocols. However, bitter words were not spared when they spoke about the armed forces, the Soviet parliamentary election compaign that is underway currently, the Sajudis, the Lithuanian leaders, Moscow, the Baltic group of the European parliament, and the United Nations.

Petras Cidzikas, who spoke at the rally and who was introduced as an active member of the Lithuanian Democratic Party and who staged two hunger strikes last year

on Gediminas Square in Vilnius for the release of political prisoners, announced a picket being organized next week at the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, which will have similar objectives.

When the meeting was nearing the end, Leonas Laurinskas, one of the speakers, read the resolution of the rally, which was supported by the participants who applauded and shouted: Hurray!

Lithuanian Support for Supreme Soviet, Brazauskas
LD1001151889 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 23 Nov 88 pp 1, 3

[A series of letters written in support of the Supreme Soviet and A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, entitled "We Support, We Agree"]

[Text] **To A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Communist Party Central Commitee of Lithuania**

To V. Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The production collective of the Vilnius 60th Anniversary of October, Labor Red Banner Union, having discussed the work results of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet session, supports the adopted decisions regarding Lithuania's economic and social development during 1989, the status of the Lithuanian language, the republic's national symbolism questions, and confirms the anthem—"National Song" by Vincas Kudirka.

All units of the plant's collective held workers' meetings. The workers of our collective support Comrade A. Brazauskas' 19 November address on Lithuanian Television, in which he appealed to all Lithuanian people, every family, youth, clergy member, and veteran not to give in to emotions, which are being fanned by certain extremists. Our international collective, where Lithuanians, Russians, Poles, Belorussians, Ukrainians, Jews, Crimeans, (?Karaimai), Tatars, and people of other nationalities work together in dignity, will always support the principled position taken by our republic's party and leadership. The basis for all of our collective's workers actions and life is not to destroy, but to build, not to confront, but rather, to consolidate strength for the good of Soviet Lithuania and of the entire Soviet Union.

The workers of our plant resolutely, and in unison, condemn the actions of certain movement leaders, who seek to destablize the political and economic situation in Lithuania.

We are angered by the movement's action, which sought to bring to a halt city transport on 21 November of this year. Because of such actions many workers have become convinced that a certain group of individuals thinks it can do anything it pleases.

We are certain the republic's leadership, supported by the wide approval of the working masses, will follow strongly and decisively along the restructuring path set forth by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference.

Signed on behalf of the collective: Deputies, Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, R. Mackevicius, D. Lukoseviciene, I. Stargotas, A. Golozovas, J. Pereskokovas, V. Kudinkinas, E. Pocevicius, V. Navickas, P. Zemaitis, J. Cilcus.

"Are We That Intoxicated?"

Let us admit in the past we were not at all interested in many of the traditional, year-end Supreme Soviet sessions; we did not pay attention to them and they soon faded from our memory: we shall, however, recall this one for a long time. Not simply because it gave the Lithuanian language the status of a state language or returned the real anthem and our national flag to us. Nor is it because a strictly negative view—concerning certain documents—deliberated throughout the land, was expressed during the session. We did not dare to do such things previously. At any rate, the session took place within the new restructuring spirit, while slowly learning democratic principles. It felt as though we were elementary students and did not do things in the proper manner. A great majority of the people (those who were not working during those hours) were able to follow all these proceedings on television and appraise the wisdom of orators, their civic bravery or weakness.

It would seem that much has been accomplished. We should all rejoice at this. We should congratulate the deputies who approved laws of great importance. We should also thank them. The last part of the session, however, disrupted the equilibrium and pushed people into a pessimistic or much too stormy frame of mind. This especially affected young people. It is not that simple for one to explain, understand, or quietly evaluate all this. This may be perhaps because, dazed by changes and startling new develpments, we are raised so high by this spiritual uplifting that we no longer feel the reality of the rough ground under our feet. Nevertheless, this reality still remains rather complicated, involved and, in many instances, obstinate. One must know not only how to advance, but also how to consolidate the acquired positions through quiet and persistent labor. Without this, even significant victories will have no strength guarantees.

We love and respect our diligent, creative, and proud neighbor, the Estonian nation and, because of this, we are always sincerely sensitive to its cares and pains. Unmerciful arguments dictated that we abstain from some categorical and sharply confrontational decisions. However, our sentiments opposed this, tearing our hearts in half as a result. I think a large majority of those who were present in the hall, as well as those who were

tensely watching these proceedings on television, experienced the same conflicting sentiments. As the adage goes, "the intellect very often brings up the rear and thus, it is easy to reason correctly after the fact as to what could have been done." This is especially true of one who had been watching the proceedings from the sidelines and was not in charge of decisionmaking. Permit me to do this, however....

One of such alternative decisions could have been as follows: To approve the special declaration of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet relative to decisions adopted at the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session. This would be to reiterate the right of every republic to protect its sovereignty within a union of independent Soviet republics, and that such an expression of national desire should be regarded by all, even by those in the highest instance, with tolerance and reverence.

Such a declaration, or at least one similar in context, would be at least morally significant, would diminish emotional intensity, ease the burden of moral responsibility, and contain emotional outburst. Such a declaration would not have allowed the broadcast over Central Television of the provocative report that was received in Estonia very traumatically. Of course, this type of rationale is, as people say, spoons provided after lunch. However, we learn and acquire experience at every step, especially in view of the fact that true democratic parliamentarism is as yet unexplored and foreign to us.

Currently, life is so complicated and full of contradictions that it is impossible to expect victories and easy access alone. Much can be accomplished by one who strives toward his goal by well-thought-out, quiet, and persistent work. We have been living for a long period of time already, as if experiencing an ongoing triple earthquake.

A scientist unable to concentrate on a new scheme or idea, an author unable to write a line on work begun earlier, a student seeing nothing while looking at a textbook or his notes. My observations would be contradicated by statements that an active public creativity is taking place. Yes, however, it can remain suspended in space and separate itself from reality, unless we support it by simple, everyday actions.

This brings to mind one Lithuanian's account of the dramtic events that took place in Czechoslovakia. He lived there at the time. He was convinced that the meaningful restructuring blossoms of the Prague Spring—many referred to that time thus, could have opened up successfully if there had been less clamor, fewer exclamations, but more thorough efforts to benefit this goal.

The events of this summer and fall excited all Lithuania and raised its spirit. Much has been achieved, much has changed unexpectedly. All decent people rejoice at this. The events and heated up atmosphere of recent days have become a cause for anxiety. Are we so intoxicated that we are unable to contain our feelings and are resorting to unrealistic actions? Could it be that we will begin to tear down by our hotblooded acts the foundations for what we had begun to build so well? The reborn tricolor has been hoisted, but it has a black ribbon attached to it. Whom did we bury? Was it the sovereignty we had not yet attained? For which it will be necessary to fight persistently, for a long time still? The blocked city intersections did not create any effect. We experience that every weekday during rush hour. Let us agree that today we do not require any desperate incidents. They diminish any authority by public action. Let us, therefore, discourage them.

The public statement by Poet Justinas Marcinkevicius has left a strong impression on me, as well as on many others. His statements are always well-thought-out, considered, and delivered with great tact and high intrinsic culture. It would be highly desirable that this spirit could be reflected not only in the actions of the movement, but in all our actions.

I cannot cease to wonder at the strength and moral equilibrium displayed by some of our honorable and long-suffering people. Having experienced the horrors of camps and exile and presently gazing at the sunset of their lives with their aged eyes, they say quietly: "When the sky begins to brighten over our native land, I forget all the wrongs and have only one desire—to go on, to work."

Signed: Algirdas Pocius

"You Desire Only What Is Good for Lithuania"

"Review of Letters to Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee"

It is difficult to currently find any individual in Lithuania who is not cognizant of the urgent political problems. The recently concluded 10th session, 11th Convocation of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and its decisions are at the center of attention for one and all. It cannot be stated that this attention is always tolerant of divergent opinions or sober perception of political realities.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee also receives various letters explaining the various, sometimes diverging opinions. People value the committee as a political headquarters for the present and the future, sharing their thoughts, often addressing Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

"I have little hope that you will receive this letter," writes Romantas-Romualdas Zilevicius, bureau chief, Vilnius Department of Trade and Industrial Advertising. "Regardless of the fact that I am 50 years old, I still have

faith in Lithuania, its future, and its children's tomorrow. Please help me and hundreds of thousands Lithuanians to maintain this hope...."

T. Dauksa, member of the Lithuanian Popular Movement Group and the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, states: "Looking at a perspective of the course followed by Lithuania after the war, the accomplishments of this period constitute a great victory. I think the accomplished program constitutes almost a maximum achievement. It is not realistic to demand more at this time. We are scaling a steep mountain. The way is easier for those who are following behind; having reached a stopping point, we have no right to push our leaders forward without giving them respite. The way is slippery. I hope that having concentrated our strength, together we can still ascend higher.

Jadvyga and Mindaugas Lapelis of Vilnius write: "We have been supporting the movement's action from its very first days, but we do not agree with exhortations, urging a fight for democracy with undemocratic methods, or the fanning of emotions. We wish to apologize for those people who met you and the other deputies, Friday evening." For, what had been organized near the Supreme Soviet building after the close of the session cannot be labeled as political competition. That was a painful insult. However, not all of those present at the square allied themselves with the shouting mob.

Vilnius resident Vytautas Liubinas writes: "On the night of 19 November, I was present at Soviet Square and felt a need to show my joy; alas, what did I encounter there—I was simply ashamed and wish to apologize to you for those others. Believe me, they constituted a minority. Most of the people came there to thank you for all your good accomplishments, thoughts, and aspirations."

More such letters and similar telegrams are arriving. Naturally, this requires civil bravery, since the agitated crowd in the square fancied itself as representing all of Lithuania. Most of the mail addressed to the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, however, supports the party and the government line.

Feliksas Petrauskas, assistant director of the Rokiskis E. Tiskus Middle School, writes on behalf of his entire family, stating: "I wish all of our leadership endurance, good health, and fulfilment of all your plans for our nation's benefit."

Vilnius Doctor, Patricijus Jusaitis shares his thoughts: "If we are to demand democracy, we must also acknowledge that no matter how much we would have liked it, it would have been seriously harmed by the passage of a Project for the Constitution, which had not been first discussed by the people.

"Let us reflect on this. Lithuania is not in any mortal danger; there is no need to shout 'Fatherland or death,' or to scream hysterically: 'Now or never.' We need a Lithuania forever, not just for 1 day. It cannot be founded without a combination of love and deep thought."

The authors of these letters are attempting to explain the events of last weekend. "The fact that our young people (and not only the young) thanked all of you in this fashion following the session is very painful for me. Forgive them for they are 'trees without roots.' How difficult it is to find one's roots. One does not even know where or how to look. We also have problems with them. We are to blame for raising them like this. Even now they do not know whom to believe and where to search for the truth."

Yes, the words of Janina Kisielius are true. Our academic youth is bright, however, and it would be useful to recall that yet, within the last century the proposition "a goal is nothing, motion is everything," was condemned as opportunist by progressive individuals. Perhaps, while demonstrating and loudly proclaiming, one should be guided by healthy comprehension and a realistic appraisal of life.

"Deputies demonstrated great wisdom and endurance by firmly holding onto their chosen positions, without giving in to harmful pressures. We honor them for this." Such was a tribute on the session's work expressed by 47 party and war veterans of the Panevezys City Choir. Andrius Mackevicius from Klaipeda, adds: "I feel it in my heart that you desire only what is best for Lithuania." This is understood not only by Lithuanians. "I am a Polish woman and I sincerely thank you for the Lithuanian SSR anthem, the flag, and the Lithuanian language—the state language. As far as the Constitution is concerned, I am in agreement with the decision of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet session," E. Beliavska states in her telegram.

Many comments and words of support reach us by letters, in which residents of Lithuania discuss the 19 November television address by Comrade A. Brazauskas. Among these, we might mention letters from: A. Voitenka and P. Nikitinas, party, war, and labor veterans from Salcininkai; Ruta Budrysand and Laima Cejauskas, Rietava Sovkhoz Technical School instructors; the Janusevicius family from Kapciamiestis; a group of party veterans from Birzai—one can observe Lithuania's entire geography on these envelopes and telegrams. These observations are written by people of all nationalities and beliefs as well as from all walks of life. Aurimas Andriukaitis writes in a telegram; "On behalf of 11 prisoners in exile at the Dzezkazgan Camp, I wish to state our support for the decisions of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary and the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, and to wish them success."

All of Lithuania followed the work of the session on television. Several individuals attempted to spread rumors that voting procedure was violated.

"We thank you for conducting the 10th Supreme Soviet session so well. We extend our wishes for further such creative work for the welfare of Lithuania." This telegram, addressed to session Chairman Lionginas Sepetys, was signed by the constituents of Piktupenai Sovkhoz in Silute Rayon. This veil of empty rumors is being dispelled as more and more people speak out in agreement with the deputies' decisions.

Telegrams and letters in support of the decisions of the 10th Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet session and the address by A. Brazauskas, Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, are still arriving. Regrettably, the papers are not able to publish them all.

Lithuanian Economist on Cutting Enterprise Losses
LD0601140689 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 23 Nov 88 p 1

[Article by Filomena Jaseviciene, chief of the Economics Department at the Lithuanian Council of Ministers, entitled "Lost Millions: Let's Decrease Losses by Enterprises," under the rubric "Confrontation With Self-Support"]

[Text] Proposals for republic economic independence and the instillment of principles of economic accountability are being readied conscientiously. Total regional (republic) economic accountability, however, needs to be directed at all branches of the national economy. How can this be achieved? The reason for this complicated situation, and a cause for concern, lies in the fact that until now 240 enterprises and organizations under republic jurisdiction have been operating under a deficit (this accounts for 11 percent of their total number). The yearly deficit amounts to R46 million.

What recourse do we have? A consultative meeting was held by the Lithuanian Council of Ministers to discuss this question with ministry and department experts.

Unfortunately, the principle of total distribution still reigns in the country—enterprises and organizations, operating at a deficit, are supported by profit-making enterprises or the state budget. This poor practice does not encourage further thrift, weakens the principles of economic accountability, encourages those who are supported by it, and contradicts the principles of the USSR State Enterprise (Union) Law.

Considerably heavy losses can be found within the State Agro-Industrial Committee, the Municipal Services Ministry, the Construction Materials Industry Ministry, the Transport Ministry, and enterprises and organizations of these ministries. Theaters, music collectives, the movie network, and separate economic accountability health organizations operate at a deficit. Many losses may also be found in the supply systems of certain peat and gas enterprises.

Part of the deficit is due solely to service cost increases to a point where they are no longer covered by the current tariffs and prices.

This is especially true in the non-industrial sector, such as housing, municipal services, city public transport, and the work of cultural organizations. The enterprises and organizations of the Municipal Services Ministry show nearly a R19 million annual deficit. Every year, Vilnius and Kaunas City bus and trolley transport parks show a deficit of nearly R10 million. The republic state budget has to allocate a R7-million subsidy annually to cover the deficit spending of theaters and concert organizations.

These losses could be averted by raising tariffs and prices. This is the easiest, but not the most desirable measure. It is more important for the ministries themselves—departments, enterprises, and organizations—to improve economic activity, erase unproductive outlays and waste and decrease their labor and material expenditures. This cannot be accomplished, however, by waving a magic wand, but rather by serious economic planning and productive labor. For instance, the State Agro-Industrial Committee showed a deficit of almost R14 million last year; however, currently it has projected to decrease this loss by R4.7 million. In spite of this, the committee has actually used up it's deficit "limit" during the first half of the year. The deficit rose to R5 million during the first 9 months of the year. The reasons for this: poor organization of labor, low productivity, cost increases, insufficient management of material labor and financial resources and, finally, poor planning.

Here is a case in point, the Utena mechanical repair manufacturing company suffered a loss of R500,000 during the 9-month period. And how could this have been avoided, when spare parts needed for repairs are used up 3 to 15 times faster than allowed by standard projections. The quality of technical repair work is poor. During the period in question, R85,000 were required to eliminate one single defect. Almost R1.5 worth of above-standard material value stock is stored in warehouses. Enterprises pay little attention to initiating economic accountability and cost decreases.

Currently, a three-quarter deficit is indicated by seven republic scientific and agrochemical agricultural services organizations (out of 51) in the manufacturing union, which constitutes a total of R291,000 in deficit. There were 35.5 thousand idle days due to the shortage of tractors; this is equivalent to almost 10 percent of the total work time balance.

Because of this, an income of R3.3 million was not attained. Idle time, precipitated by prolonged tractor repairs, is also having an adverse effect on the use of tractor parts.

The financial condition of the fruit and vegetable trade union is also cause for some well-founded concern. Here, problems arise back on the farms. Because of insufficient control, the union warehouses receive from farms up to 15 percent of the products unfit for food consumption. For this reason, and also because of poor storage conditions, supply and demand are not balanced. Finally, because of a totally uneconomic attitude toward work, constant spoilage and losses in products exceed established norms. During a period of 9 months, 17 thousand tons of potatoes, vegetables, and fruit became spoiled and were dumped from these union warehouses. Thus, 23 thousand tons of these were turned over for animal feed because of a drop in quality.

A critical situation has developed at the Ignalina Construction Materials Production Union of the Ministry of Construction Materials Industry. It has been operating at a deficit since its inception in 1975. All types of manufacturing output suffer losses under union auspices. The basic causes of this are: large consumption of raw materials, fuel and electric energy, projected capabilities not fully introduced and many losses due to waste. A similar situation exists within the above ministry's "Skalda" Union for the production of construction raw materials. Someone forgot how to balance income with losses and what to do with the ever increasing cost.

It really seems a pity that currently, similar enterprises see only one way out of deficit, by raising prices.

Athough there really do exist many resources for farm management, a farm under republic jurisdiction, even currently, does not decrease, but increases its non-productive expenditures. Last year, those amounted to R60 million, of which half was directed to the State Agro-Industrial Committee enterprises and organizations. No bigger changes are in sight for the current year, either. They pay many penalties for the pollution of nature. For instance, in light of a three-quarter tariff increase for water sewage systems the Panevezys Food Products Combine paid half a million more.

Unrealistic road haulage additions appear in the transport ministry's (Ministry of Motor Transport and Highways) system. Out of 11 autotransport enterprises that have been audited, four had fulfilled the quarterly plan simply due to the road haulage volume. For this, automobile enterprises were given in excess of R14,000 of unearned income; of this sum, R1,700 was overpaid work volume pay to drivers and over R7,000 was wasted on fuel.

For the time being, we are still counting by the millions of rubles the property plunder and waste which are causing great harm to the nation's economy. However, how many additional resources remain frozen while the above-norm reserves of trade and material value are being stockpiled?

Although more is being done within the state economy to decrease losses, time does not stand still and one should not delay. Examples worthy of following can already be found in the country whereby certain deficit enterprises, rented by a collective, manage to pull themselves up within a short time and commence to realize a profit. It is a pity there are not many such instances in our republic. We might mention the "Kulva" Kolkhoz in Jonava Rayon, which rented 160 hectares of its land to three agricultural machine operators. This small collective achieved pretty good results within a short period of time. It obtained 36.7 quintals of barley per hectare, which amounted to 11 quintals more than the average on this farm or elsewhere. Having reached this output, the farm is projecting to attain R80,000 in pure revenue, or the equivalent to approximately 3 times as much pure revenue per rented hectare than the average in the kolkhoz.

The Ministry of Consumer Services rented to a collective a laundromat in Vilnius. Within a year, it turned around from deficit to profit.

The area of municipal services is also starting to utilize new advanced types of labor organization whereby economic resources are turned over to supervision by individual families. Other measures are also available; for instance, deficit enterprises may be joined with strong enterprises, cooperatives may be established on their base, or such enterprises may be even totally liquidated in accordance with the law.

All such measures strengthen the principles of economic accountability. Labor collectives must eliminate such shortcomings more directly and more forcefully. They must search for new agricultural methods and better avail themselves of the rights that have been granted to them by the State Enterprise (Union) Law.

Catholic Youth To Organize in Lithuania

LD1101113789 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Summary] An organizational committee has been set up at a meeting in Vilnius entrusted with the task of convening a constituent congress of the Catholic youth organization Ateitus at the end of March.

Priests, seminary students, and representatives of young people from various parts of Lithuania taking part in the meeting discussed the possibilities of this young believers' organization in present conditions. Ateitininkai, a union of Lithuanian Catholic schoolchildren, was set up in 1911 and was active until 1940.

The Vilnius City Lenin Rayispolkom announced that permission has been granted to the Lithuanian Liberty League to organize a rally at which the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact secret protocols will be discussed. The rally will take place tomorrow evening in Kalnu Park.

It was also pointed out in the announcement that because of traffic safety and the fact that some New Year's celebrations are still being held in Gediminas Square, the rally could not be held there.

We will inform you about this meeting in tomorrow's newscasts.

Aims, Tasks of Ukrainian Language Society

LD1001095489 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] As we have already reported, a republican Society of Native Language is being set up in Kiev. Its constituent conference will be held later this month. The organizational committee which includes well known writers, linguists, and scholars is working out the draft regulations of the society.

Andriy Buryachok, one of the authors of the draft, said the following in an interview for Radio Kiev:

[Begin recording] [Buryachok, in Ukrainian fading into English translation] The Taras Shevchenko Society of Native Language is a voluntary public organization which has as its aim to instil a feeling of love toward Ukrainian language and towards the entire culture of the Ukrainian people, which is a unique phenomen in the Soviet society and worldwide, says Andriy Buryachok.

The society stands for a complete and actual establishment of Ukrainian as a state language of the republic and for the further development of the fraternal languages of the nationalities of the Ukrainian SSR.

The main tasks of the society are: to keep control over the abidance by the constitutional provisions of the law on the language; study the state of functioning of the Ukrainian language; popularize and expand the sphere of the use of the Ukrainian language among the population of Ukraine and Ukrainians living beyond the borders of Ukraine and the USSR.

We shall work to raise the prestige and importance of the Ukrainian language throughout the world, above all in the countries where large groups of Ukrainians live, as well as in Slavic countries.

We shall also promote the use of Ukrainian in the press, radio, and television and we shall (?act) as assistants to state, party, and economic bodies in transfering the recordkeeping to Ukrainian, said Andriy Buryachok. [end recording]

Consumer Supply Problems in Ukraine Examined

AU1001132889 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 31 Dec 88 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Excerpts] In a routine session, the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium examined organizational work performed by Volyn Oblast soviets of people's deputies to improve the living conditions for war and labor veterans, single old people, and the disabled. [passage omitted]

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium listened to a report delivered by Comrade G.G. Nikitenko, Ukrainian SSR minister of light industry, on the state of reequipping enterprises and on restructuring scientific research management in the branch under the conditions of full economic accountability and self-financing. In examining the issue, it was noted that, in order to better meet the needs of the population in manufactured goods, in the current 5-year period allocations for developing the production base of light industry have increased 14 percent, in terms of a year, compared with the preceding 5-year period. A wide program has been approved for the technical renewal of the branch. A decision to establish six new scientific and production associations has been adopted.

However, the planned tasks are being accomplished in a very unsatisfactory way. There are delays in drawing up technical documents, and in reconstructing and modernizing enterprises, even with the application of imported equipment. The branch is not coping with the tasks set for settling social problems. Every tenth worker is on the waiting list for a dwelling. At many enterprises working conditions are inadequate. As a result, there is a significant fluctuation of cadres, many shops operate in a single shift, and the production of goods needed by the population falls far short of the targets. [passage omitted]

During the discussion on the unjustified increase in the retail prices of a number of foodstuffs and manufactured goods, it was noted that leaders of many enterprises and organizations run by the republic's Ministries of Light Industry, Forestry Industry, and Grain Products, by the Ukrainian Union of Consumers Societies, and by some other ministries and departments were trying to improve their financial situation by producing expensive commodities. At the same time the output of inexpensive necessities is shrinking. All this affects the living standards of the population, mainly the poorer families, violates the principles of social justice, and rouses the indignation of people.

In the decision adopted on this issue, the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium found that the practice of unjustifiably increasing the prices of consumer goods and of cutting the production volumes of inexpensive commodities was intolerable. Comrade G.G. Nikitenko,

V.F. Kostenko, N.P. Kompanets, and V.P. Sytnik, ministers, and Comrade S.V. Litvinenko, chairman of the board of the Ukrainian Union of Consumers Societies, were strictly warned that they bore personal responsibility for the correct application of retail prices fixed for foodstuffs and manufactured goods. The Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Trade was enjoined to increase the responsibility of enterprises for the production of commodities needed by people with various incomes.

In examining the state of cash circulation in the republic and the measures to tighten control over the economically justified use of wage funds, the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium noted that many enterprises and organizations grossly violated the principle that in order to introduce new wage rates and salaries for a post, funds first have to be earned. Average wages are increasing ahead of labor productivity, and this contradicts the USSR law on the state enterprise (association). [passage omitted]

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium has obligated ministers and department leaders to eliminate the shortcomings noted, and banking institutions, to tighten control over the economic justification of funds issued for wages.

Ukraine Delegation To Attend Minsk Celebrations

AU0901134789 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 30 Dec 88 p 1

[RATAU report: "To Fraternal Belorussia"]

[Text] At the invitation of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, a delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, headed by V.S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, left for Minsk on 29 December. Members of the delegation were: I.G. Grintsov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; and V.V. Prasko, woman regulator at the V.I. Lenin "Elekronmash" production association and member of Kiev Gorkom bureau.

The delegation was to participate in the celebrations devoted to the 70th anniversary of creating the Belorussian SSR and the Communist Party of Belorussia.

French Paper Reports on Yakovlev Perm Speech

PM1001142889 Paris LE MONDE in French 8-9 Jan 89 p 3

["B.G." report: "When Mr Gorbachev's Right-hand Man Tries To Convert the Nomenklatura"]

[Text] "Time is short, comrades! Patience is not unlimited, and we probably have no more than 2 or 3 years to show ourselves and others that socialism in its Leninist version is not a utopia." The man who spoke those words is none other than Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and Mr Gorbachev's right-hand man.

He was speaking 10 days before Christmas to party officials in Perm Oblast, in the northeast of the Russian Federation. They are certainly not all enthusiastic about restructuring, and Mr Yakovlev's speech is a rare example of the constant effort to win over the apparatus by a leadership which is marching 20 paces ahead of its troops.

What Mr Yakovlev was trying to make them understand is that there is no alternative, that things are urgent, and that it is not only necessary to continue with the reforms, but to speed them up. Aside from a few examples of orthodox language, he spoke in plain language, so much so that the central press savagely cut his remarks which were only published in full by ZVEZDA, a local daily.

"Where does the problem lie," Mr Yakovlev asked. "What is preventing us from giving the Soviet citizen the standard of living he deserves since we seem to have everything necessary for a high living standard and since we have even more than many other countries? It was with these questions that restructuring was launched. It is to these questions that your conference relates and it is in ourselves that we must seek the answers—in our habits, our conservatism, our laxism, and our irresponsibility.... Yes, a great deal depends on us, but we too are prisoners of social conditions. If the replacement of many leaders does not produce the desired effect, and, worse still, if honest people are appointed and they then lose their qualities, it is because there is something radically wrong in the very structure of our social life."

And these errors, which are inherent in the Soviet system, are, he said, the idea that a society can develop in a linear way, in a rigid framework, toward "state ownership of everything and everybody," centralization, the creation of a political system based on bureaucracy, the eradication of the spirit of initiative, and of the spirit of free enterprise, and the abandonment of the principle of people's sovereignty—"not to mention reprisals and criminal abuse of power."

All that has so far hampered progress, Mr Yakovlev added, drawing up a very somber picture of the progress made in restructuring. "We are talking," he said, "of creating new economic relations, but that is being drowned in the routine of old structures.... Negligence is our scourge. If we were poor, we might be better organized. The reason we are poor is that our wealth has corrupted us and has developed our laziness and irresponsibility...."

"We are talking of political reforms," he added, "but how difficult it is for us to abandon former power to which we have grown accustomed! We have not yet succeeded in realizing that real people's sovereignty would provide much more stability, strength, and

responsibility. We are afraid of democracy, openness, and pluralism.... The price of democracy, which is sometimes very real, frightens us, but surely spring liberates the earth, and are we the only ones in possession of eternal truth? A difficult year lies ahead and we must carry the party's flag with dignity through new trials and the coming social changes."

Mr Yakovlev, formerly ambassador to Canada, is fully aware of the extent to which the Americans resented Mr Carter telling them about the "malaise" in their civilization, but nothing stopped his torrent of accusations. "We talk about moral revival and spiritual purification," he said, "but we are still full of suspicion about these passionate debates. We do not yet all realize that socialism is a society of creative freedom, of the development of science and culture, of the improvement of man."

"At one time we said that there was no need to fear a man armed with a gun. Well, comrades," Mr Yakovlev exclaimed, "let us not fear men armed with their brains and pens, because the conflicts aroused by restructuring are natural and inevitable in the period of change through which we are passing. Yes, the past still weighs heavily on our shoulders but, in defining the new society, our classics resorted primarily to the notions of responsibility, well-being, individuality, and happiness. According to them, socialism consisted of freeing social relations from all that is contrary to and harmful to man and society, all that is incompatible with the normal human concepts of good and evil, of morality and justice."

As if this definition of an atheist Christianity was not sufficiently clear, after talking of "the crisis of maturity in world socialism," Mr Yakovlev hammered home the point: "Ultimately, many of our ideals were defined by mankind 1,000 years ago."

Did he say 1,000 years? Yes, he said 1,000 years, because Christianity was introduced to Russia 1,000 years ago. Nobody in the hall could fail to know that, and Mr Yakovlev returned to restructuring which is "not just the use of new slogans but which means turning our attention to the question: What will they give the worker, the people, the country, and socialism,"—the restructuring which is primarily a need for a far-reaching reorganization of economic relations.

However, Mr Yakovlev said bluntly, although "the economic reform is progressing, it is slipping, its propellers are sticking, and at present the situation is not improving on the consumer market or in the financial sphere. Society is paying for the past, and that is proving very difficult."

"What about housing?" he asked, before replying: "Basements and slums will not be turned into palaces in 1 or 2 years, and this is small consolation to those who do not have apartments. What about food? The problem remains.... As long as man is not master of the land, we will not have bread, meat, or milk. What about everyday consumer goods? As long as the money supply continues to far exceed the supply of goods, store windows will remain empty. This means that we must increase all our production forces...."

"Time is short, comrades, but why are very obviously necessary initiatives surrounded by so many incredible problems?" The answer is because "we must face the situation and because in the past 50 years we have created an economy which existed for its own sake and which went against nature and reason and ruined the people. We extracted 15 billion tonnes of minerals per year, we long since outstripped the United States in the production of fuel (aside from coal), steel, concrete, and tractors. We are ahead of Japan in the production of electricity, and what does this yield? It yields an average monthly wage of a little more than 200 rubles; yet the supply of goods accounts for only half this sum."

"Does the publication in newspapers of the astronomical figures produced by the State Committee for Statistics produce a more convincing effect than the empty shelves in the stores?" Mr Yakovlev said, before turning to the new Eden, the "key which enables us to formulate a short- and medium-term outlook"—the market, the market which the ruling team expects to save Russia. "Society is tired of standing on its head," he said, "and we can see that it is impossible to restore normal circulation to the economy without the socialist market...."

In other words, if you do not want total chaos, allow the market to develop because, at all events, "in its present form, our state commerce is a catalogue of mistakes by state officials, of feudalism with its doctored accounts, and its organized theft based on deception and falsified calculations. I am not talking about the thousands of honest traders," Mr Yakovlev specified, "but about the antiquated and defective system which organizes commerce according to economic laws which it alone knows...."

"In the broadest sense of the term," he explained, "commerce is the essential, but at present the weakest, link in restructuring because of anti-market feelings which are a Stalinist distortion." This is a distortion by Stalinism, not Leninism because Lenin realized (although that was "extremely painful" to him) that "Marx and Engels were mistaken about the formation of a nonmarket means of production. Life," Mr Yakovlev said, "has not confirmed that hypothesis, war communism was a mistake, it was the result of a coercive utopia."

"Indeed," Mr Yakovlev said, "although the system of requisitions was abandoned it was abandoned as a result of the Tambov and Kronshtadt revolts, and the letters from peasants which amounted to saying: Your slogans said to each according to his labor, but the facts say equality in poverty. It is vital to achieve civil peace.

How? By natural means, by establishing a just principle of labor remuneration based on the market, by radically attenuating the siege mentality, by establishing commerce and other forms of exchange with the outside world, by learning from the capitalists, and by drawing up and assimilating a new work culture."

This was followed by a defense of cooperatives, supported by quotes from Lenin, because "it is time to rid people's minds once and for all of the lie that socialism and the market are incompatible" and that "the state cannot engage in rational commerce for the simple reason that it will always live at society's expense."

Mr Reagan could not have phrased it better, and, after a passage about the parallel need for democratization which contained no surprises, Mr Yakovlev said to his state and party audience: "We must honestly admit that virtually all the work still needs to be done, particularly as regards man, the social sphere, and the satisfaction of people's material demands which at present are generally relatively modest."

He said in conclusion: "The processes of improvement are complex, but if we do not create this basis for society's sound development, we may be threatened not only with a return to the past, to the period of stagnation (Brezhnevism—LE MONDE editor's note), but with an aggressive and revanchist conservatism celebrating its victory."

Kazakh First Secretary Interview on Nationalities

LD0801223089 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1015 GMT on 7 January broadcasts a program entitled "In the Interests of Unity," presented by Galina Vinogradova. She says the program is on the "development of relations between the nationalities in our country," a problem that is particularly pressing because more than 150 nations, nationalities, and ethnic groups are represented within the Soviet Union. She says today only one republic will be discussed, the Kazakh SSR, where she interviewed Gennadiy Kolbin, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, in Alma-Ata.

[Vinogradova] "Gennadiy Vasiliyevich, your republic, Kazakhstan is no doubt the most multinational after the Russian Federation in terms of the nations and ethnic groups that live here.

[Kolbin] "Yes, there are around 100 ethnic groups and different nationalities in the republic and solving the problem of association and relations between the nationalities requires an approach here that is out of the ordinary. It cannot, let us say, be conducted as in one of the republics in which the overwhelming majority is made up of people of the native nationality. Totally different approaches are required here, taking the specific features into account. I would like to pause on these features and the principles adopted and placed at the basis of our work after the unpleasant December events of 1986 when events took place that no one, apparently, had expected. Our republic has always been distinguished in theory by its friendly relations among people of different nations.

[Vinogradova] "After all, from time immemorial, it has historically been a multinational republic.

[Kolbin] "That's right and it has been reaffirmed in the last 2 years that it will remain multinational. Forces however showed up engaged in provocation and did so as certain forces are now provoking conflict among the nationalities in other areas of the country. It is to someone's advantage. Someone has to protect themselves from a deserved punishment. Someone, without a backward glance, is seeking power in this way. These too are the kind of phenomena we are seeing.

"What lies at the basis of our work in interethnic relations? First, we should not be on the defensive. We must forestall events that could come to a head or are doing so, in order to solve the problem in good time. We must find such approaches in interethnic relations in which we would know in advance what could happen if this or that problem were not solved, so that national feeling and national pride cannot grow, accidentally and unnoticed, into nationalism. We are, after all, in a situation in which national pride should be asserted, not buried or somehow hidden away. We are obliged to assert it. Whether it is a Kazakh, Russian, German, Pole, Uigur, or Korean, we are obliged to cultivate his pride in his nation and its talent. I can say quite bluntly that whenever I am in areas densely populated by a particular nation, I always try and ask: Who is your great talent? Who is your nation proud of? This question always evokes an excited response from people: We are proud of this person. This is our composer, this our writer, etc. People's pride in their talents and their nation is a quality that ought to belong to every people, great or small.

[Vinogradova] "It's a fine quality.

[Kolbin] "A fine quality and one we should develop, but we must not tolerate its becoming nationalism or elevated demands for one's own nation in particular. We present this pertinent issue: We need to construct policy in dealing with interethnic matters. The policy should provide that a Kazakh will take charge of solving Russian problems, German ones and others, i.e. the problems of a nation other than his own in order to remove inhibitions and suspicions with regard to people suddenly regarding him as a nationalist if he starts to push and proclaim the interests of his nation. On the other hand, a Russian should be primarily concerned for the people of the Kazakh nation, the nation whose name the republic bears, and should note, if you like, the questions that arise in that nation: The need to raise the living standard, raise culture and science and many other issues of which the nation can, should, and must be proud.

[Vinogradova] "Excuse me for interrupting but how do you implement this concern of one nation for another that you have been talking about?

[Kolbin] "Among the leaders of the republic and the bureau of the Central Committee we have arranged it like this: The leaders of Kazakh nationality are concerned with all the trends required by the interests of other, non-Kazakh, nations. This includes, let us say, appropriate representation of people of Russian nationality, German, and other nationalities in accordance with the elected leading bodies. As for myself, as a Russian, I am dealing without a hint of embarrassment with raising the economy of oblasts in which the Kazakh population is in the majority. I was elected deputy to the republic's Supreme Soviet for the Suzakskiy rayon, Chimkent Oblast. How was this always done? The leaders of the republic were elected somewhere in the capital where there is less work, less trouble and demands were met without his taking part.

"There is someone here to deal with things, there's the capital's leadership, everything under the sun but election in a remote place like Suzakskiy rayon where there is no water, no heat...by which I mean, heat supply, where the question of building roads and much else—trade, schools, hospitals—have not been dealt with, when you are elected a deputy there, you can feel...I have been to that rayon more than once, many times and I am proud that I have been able to restore the river there that for 2 decades almost had been out of operation. It had dried up. Last year, there was water and people's happiness was indescribable.

"When I made my report to the electors after the 19th conference, I went first of all to that consistuency to tell people about the conference and report on my own work and what I had done. Speaking to them, I said outright that sometimes for matters of amenities, health care, etc., money has to be taken away from other oblasts that are more developed. Does my conscience trouble me that I, the leader of the republic, am taking something away from one area and giving it to another?

[Vinogradova] "That is just what I was thinking. Aren't you taking advantage here of your official position?

[Kolbin] "I said, yes I am. I am using it on behalf of the Kazakhs' interests and improving the life of the people of the native nationality not in order to gain their favor but to establish justice since in fact they have been offended by fate, in quotes, by comparison with other regions where there is heating and water supplies, where all matters at the level of the civilized world, say, have been dealt with. I therefore have the moral right to tackle matters in this way.

[Vinogradova] "I would like you now to talk in more detail about the functions of the commission on relations between the nationalities that you have founded at the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party. This is something new. Just what is this commission?

[Kolbin] "I would like to answer the question like this: Work on interethnic problems calls for a system, above all else, and should progress systematically and solve those problems that are most urgent—that is, open up the bottlenecks and look at these problems. Second, the system of work on interethnic relations should not be rigid, established once and for all. As we advance, step by step, in solving the problems, the system too should advance and by improved. This work here has been arranged as follows: First, in 1987, i.e. immediately after the event of December, we set up a sector on interethnic relations from staff workers of the staff of the party Central Committee apparat. The sector studies the problems of all the nationalities and nations, selects the most urgent and puts it to the commission on relations between the nationalities for discussion.

[Vinogradova] "What is this commission?

[Kolbin] "This commission on relations between the nationalities was set up at the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party under the leadership of the secretary for ideology and contains representatives and members of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party but also people who are not members of the Central Committee, representatives of the various nations. What problems is the commission discussing? These are predominately matters of language and culture.

[Vinogradova] "Yes, you devote a very great deal of attention to the matter of studying the language, or rather, the languages. Even on my short working trip, I could see that.

[Kolbin] "You know, sometimes, the impression is formed that in the good old days, it was most frequently said that the language problem was not being solved and someone seemed to have an interest in the problem remaining unsolved to the very end. There was, for instance, the creation of kindergartens for individual nationalities. This created a problem circumvented for years and decades: The problem was not being solved, few people were involved in learning Kazakh, Kazakhs included. Literally, within 2 months, we had gotten rid of this problem. We decided that as many groups for education in Kazakh as required by the children's parents should be set up according to place of residence.

[Vinogradova] "The same was true, no doubt, in German kindergartens, too?

[Kolbin] "In all of them and even those who raised the question urgently in the writers' sphere have made a statement: I now believe that the problem of educating children in any language whatsoever has been removed here. This was the best appraisal for me as the leader of the republic and a Russian by nationality and for all of us working in the apparat of the party Central Committee. The commission, then, on relations between the nationalities, at the Central Committee of the Kzakhstan

Communist Party and the interethnic relations sector cut through the Central Committee of the party up to and including the raykoms. If say, we cannot manage Polish, since it is in some other area, the obkom or the raykom can get to these issues and solve these problems.

[Vinogradov] "It has the authority to make decisions at its own level?

[Kolbin] "It has indeed. What cannot be solved can be presented to the council of ministers for dealing, for instance, with financial problems of some kind, or to the Supreme Soviet or the party Central Committee if problems impossible for it to solve emerge.

[Vinogradova] "As I see it, basically, the main task of this commission is to solve such difficult problems quickly?

[Kolbin] "That's right but I have to say that it is not the case that there are no debates or discussions at the commission. The representatives of any nation can speak there and present the solution of particular problems as a matter of urgency. I think this is a logical process. It is better to argue in an auditorium than out in the streets. The crowd version of solving subtle nationalist matters is not suitable.

[Vinogradova] "Quite.

[Kolbin] "If we draw a connection with today's situation, certain informal associations, somewhat bitterly inclined on occasion, are attempting to deal with the nationalist issues at meetings of 200,000 people. This is not appropriate. It will not work. There is neither logic nor reason, but emotion to the fore. Working in this way, of which I spoke, in solving interethnic problems, we have reached the conclusion that not every person can speak about the problems of his nation. Not everyone comes to us with complaints and statements. Many people patiently put up with any problem, whether it be housing or moreover relations between the nationalities, and with the inconveniences, whatever they are. We have set up a deputies' commission on relations between the nationalities at the republic's supreme soviet and have set up a working group within that commission for each nation from people who are not deputies but representatives of the intelligentsia who can spell out for the commission of Supreme Soviet deputies the sore points for their nation. We have announced that particular telephone numbers receive callers daily on interethnic problems. Please do come to us.

[Vinogradova] "Have there been any calls?

[Kolbin] "Oh, yes, but, life goes on and we don't just have to solve interethnic problems by instinct. We have now adopted a decision to set up a center to disseminate Lenin's policy on the nationalities. We already have a base for it. The center has—or will have, we are formulating it at the moment—in one part of the building, a block of the party Central Committee building that has been released as a result of staff cutbacks.

"What will the center be? First of all, it will contain a sector of interethnic relations of the republic's Academy of Sciences so the academy, aware of what is involved, can study the problem for each nation and ethnic group. So, a sector for interethnic relations of the party bodies; commissions of the republic's supreme soviet; and then representatives of the knowledge society, who should be working on the issue—in other words all the people who are involved in the ideology of the interethnic problems are to get together in a single place and ensure the ideological basis for dealing with this task."

Kolbin explains that the center would also host performances by cultural ensembles from the republic's various nationalities which people of all nationalities would be welcome to attend. The center would also coordinate the activity of all organs involved with internationality questions. This would include the solution of certain social problems currently dealt with by trade unions, such as housing allocation.

After praising the work of the republic's Komsomol in bringing people together and dwelling in particular on the positive atmosphere he perceived in certain young people's housing complexes, Kolbin turned to the question of Kazakhstan's labor surplus:

"Another aspect in solving the internationalities problem and raising the cultural level of people of various nations is to do this by bringing work to people. Kazakhstan is considered to be a region with a labor surplus. People have large families, especially in the southern oblasts, and to move them as many people propose, to implement migration in accordance with the availability of work—our country is a big one, in some places there are not enough people yet we also have labor surpluses—the kind of movement that is being proposed is not taking place. People living in the southern regions of Kazakhstan are not inclined to go somewhere else and leave the place they know. It is our task to bring work to people, and last year we used 115 modules, that is fast-assembly metal structures, to create branches of enterprises in places where there is a labor surplus. We created branches and put people to work and by this means we increased output to the value of R3 billion.

What kind of output is this? School uniforms for children, which were in short supply here—from this year on there will be no problem with school uniforms in Kazakhstan. Production of children's footwear has increased, production of men's footwear has increased as well as various other items. These are professions which are easily mastered and grasped by people of the indigenous population. Second members of families who hitherto did not work at all are gaining employment. Mothers, half of whose time involves raising a big family,

a family with many children, can work part-time. So the possibility is arising here of raising the standard of living and this is economically beneficial. People have their own home, the place where they grow fruit and vegetables and their work is nearby.

[Vinogradova] "There's no need to migrate anywhere.

[Kolbin] "There's no need to migrate anywhere. The labor force is being used, the national income is increasing and two birds are being killed with one stone."

Kolbin cites the example of an electronics factory which was created in vacant public buildings in Arkalyk and which now employ about 3,000 people: "This is the path which we must take in the first instance. Later there will probably have to be another path—the creation of larger enterprises and the use of the people who have already been trained in these larger enterprises.

"The establishment of bilingualism has caused a whole series of fresh problems here. We adopted a decision on improving the study of both the Russian and Kazakh languages and we published them in the press on an equal footing, so to speak, parallel texts on one page. By doing this we were stressing that, according to Lenin's concept, bilingualism is the determining direction in the development of languages and the establishment of languages and that, on the other hand, all languages are on an equal footing."

Kolbin explains that people had to know both Kazakh and Russian while some, such as the Kazakh Germans, were in effect trilingual. "A whole gamut of issues arising from this has been resolved recently since the adoption of the decision, including in the organization of language studies in schools and at enterprises. Some people would have insufficient knowledge of Russian and some insufficient knowledge of Kazakh. Simultaneous translations began to be introduced with the right to speak in any language you wished in various forums. It is true that there is still work to be done on this problem. A mass of self-instructors in the Russian and Kazakh languages appeared and we have already come across this phenomenon: What we did a year ago on dictionaries and text books turns out to be insufficient. We must bring out a greater amount once more—and not only bring them out but also improve them."

Kolbin speaks of the mass sympathy felt by Kazakhs of all nationalities for people in Armenia affected by the earthquake. He then sums up his thoughts on the nationalities question:

"I would like to say that work on internationalities problems permits no stagnation or stoppage. Relations between nationalities require particularly sensitive, particularly subtle attitudes and the development of all amateur organizations and associations must be subjected to particularly close scrutiny, because they could in some way or another lead us either to discord between nationalities or to contacts between them. But what kind of atmosphere is there today between nationalities? I can say that we are not encountering any acute instances which might cause concern for us, although we constantly feel that these matters have not been removed from the agenda and will never be removed so long as there are nations—but there must be a solution for them, a particular solution for each stage. I think that it is at present premature and incorrect to state that we must create a single nation and that, with time, all the nations will intermingle and merge. We must think about and care for each nation."

Volyn Oblispolkom Convenes, Elects Chairman

AU1001094489 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 31 Dec 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "An Oblast Soviet Holds Session"]

[Text] Lutsk, 29 December—A Volyn Oblast soviet session was held today to discuss the progress made in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 5-year tasks to increase the effectiveness of capital construction.

The session examined an organizational issue.

In connection with V.G. Fedorov's transfer to the CPSU Central Committee apparatus, he was relieved of the duties of oblispolkom chairman. M.V. Parasunko, hitherto oblispolkom first deputy chairman and chairman of the oblast agro-industrial committee, was elected Volyn Oblispolkom chairman.

Pugo Speaks on 'Reserves' at Tula Party Meeting

PM1101092189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 2

[IZVESTIYA-TASS report on 23 December speech at Tula party conference by B.K. Pugo, chairman of the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee: "Seeking Local Reserves"]

[Text] Tula—Since the last party conference more than half of the leaders at various levels in the oblast have been replaced. This is no surprise to anyone in a time of glasnost and democracy. People capable of furthering the cause of restructuring have come into the leadership. Restructuring is noticeable in all spheres. The work style of the oblast party headquarters, gorkoms, raykoms, and primary party organizations is changing for the better too. In all things the majority of them are trying to follow the principle of determining maximum tasks and seeking reserves locally. This was discussed at a Tula Oblast party conference which opened on 23 December.

In the report delivered by Party Obkom First Secretary Yu.I. Litvintsev it was noted that there had been some movement in the economy on the basis of intensification. The decline in capital productivity slowed down in industry and in agriculture capital productivity

increased. There were particularly gratifying changes in this—latter—priority sector. Tula is an example of the reconstruction of the agro-industrial complex. Cooperative associations have been set up here on a democratic basis in rayons and the Agro-industrial Union (Agropromsoyuz) is preparing to take up the reins of management at oblast level. This radical restructuring is underpinned by the lease and contract systems. Incidentally, one-fourth of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes are now operating entirely under lease arrangements. Tula fields and livestock units are far more productive now. They are overfulfilling state orders. What is the source of the movement? It is the new housing, plans for which are now being fulfilled, the expansion of the production of goods and services and other social benefits, which are increasing with each passing day in the oblast.

A.I. Terekhov, arsenal milling machine operator; A.Yu. Kuzmichev, director of the Yasnogorsk "Zybino" sovkhoz; V.V. Panchenko, first secretry of Aleksin CPSU Gorkom; L.M. Krasnova, chief director of the oblast hospital; P.G. Barsukov, leaseholder on the Shchekino "Ovoshchevod" sovkhoz; and others talked about positive changes in the oblast party organization's work style and pointed out that some working people have not yet completely shed the burden of the old ways, that good decisions are still not always reinforced with organizational work, and that the ideological backup requires further in-depth restructuring. What has been accomplished in cities and in the countryside is only the start of a major operation. It was pointed out that it is now necessary to establish order in capital construction, without which many special tasks cannot be solved.

Much was said also about the role and place of the press in restructuring. It was noted in the report and in the speeches that the press's big potential is not being fully realized. Yet it is carrying out in-depth reconnoitering of the whole area of the renewal process taking place in the country. The mood of society depends to a large extent on the journalists' stance. But, unfortunately, many party committees are underestimating the possibilities offered by the press and are failing to utilize its potential for influencing public opinion. Some party committee first secretaries do not find the time to meet with editorial collectives and do not write in newspapers. Does this not account for the fact that often the population lacks authentic information, while there is no end of rumors and conjecture?

The conference participants were addressed by B.K. Pugo, chairman of the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee. He said, in particular, that the 19th All-Union CPSU Congress arrived at the unequivocal conclusion that the time has come for practical action. Certainly it is not an easy matter to build the bridge that links an idea to its day-to-day execution, to practical work. It requires a great deal of political and organizational work by the party among the masses. Special significance attaches to the Communist's active civic stance as the party's political fighter and his ability to uphold the party viewpoint and put it into practice.

The decisions of the 19th party conference received literally nationwide support. But, at the same time, one cannot help noticing that certain people are picking out only what is "profitable," "suitable" for them. When advocating democratization certain people intentionally or unintentionally forget that it is inseparable from the strengthening of party, state, and public discipline and strict observance of socialist legality. The conference documents are an integral whole. Cutting out individual sections destroys the living fabric and distorts the very essence of the adopted decisions.

Now that the party has set the task of fully reviving intraparty democracy, united action by Communists is more essential than ever. In fact, the CPSU—we have no right to forget this in any circumstances—was created by V.I. Lenin as an organization of like minds. An organization whose law of life was free discussion of all problems and united action. Unity that is not for show, that does not confine itself to a unanimous show of hands when voting. We need the unity of indepently minded people, firmly welded together by the ties of party comradeship, united by common aims and tasks, and able to lead others. That is why conscious discipline and total personal responsibility are needed—in short, everything that is currently being established in party organizations, that is resolutely supported by the Central Committee.

The speaker dwelt on the tasks of the Tula Oblast party organization and backed the idea put forward by the conference delegates of the need to continue to eradicate hackneyed practices in party work and resolutely eliminate the gulf betweeen word and deed.

In the development of the economy and the social sphere, B.K. Pugo continued, none of the problems can be solved by traditional methods. I think it is right that oblast party organizations should be paying greater, more specific attention to shaping the new economic thinking and developing democracy, glasnost, and self-management. Only in an atmosphere of free discussion and an open and public comparison of different views do the correct decisions emerge and real ways of implementing them take shape. If a person feels committed to a task he will devote all his strength and all his energy to it and is bound to achieve a concrete, practical result.

The democratization of intraparty life has made it possible to get many things started. The leadership of party organizations has been assumed, as a rule, by experienced, competent, and authoritative Communists—genuine leaders. And this was as a result of competitive

selection of candidates. In approximately one-fifth of party groups, one-third of shop organizations, and one-fourth of primary organizations leaders were elected from several candidates.

The speaker then dwelt in detail on the restructuring of control work in the party. It is primarily a matter, he said, of giving all Communists a real chance to influence the party's activity. This will be the implementation of Lenin's very important demand that party organs and their cadres should be under the constant control of the party masses.

What can this control provide? It will give the party greater protection against the wrong people and avoid many mistakes in the selection and placement of cadres. It will help strengthen the ties of party comradeship and increase Communists' activeness and independence. The cause of democratization will only win if we activate the entire potential of control on the part of Communists.

There is a logical intensification of demands on the party's control organs. the fundamental positions are determined here by the decisions of the 19th party conference, with efforts being concentrated primarily on control of the activity of Communists and party organizations. The main thing is not to get bogged down in trifles, not to attempt to embrace the unembraceable, but to work on the major, fundamental issues, on the problem areas. To work on establishing reliable guarantees against subjectivism, arbitrariness, and the influence of personal and chance circumstances on party policy.

The CPSU Central Committee decided to conduct an experiment in a number of party organizations, including the Tula organization, in the course of the current report and election campaign and set up joint control and auditing organs. The democratic principle of their formation, electivity, has been restorted. This is extremely important: It is a decisive factor in the activity of control and auditing commissions and their authority.

The Central Committee has approved provisional regulations to guide the joint control and auditing organs in their work. It is not a matter of mechanical merger, let alone of the creation of leading organs parallel to party committees. The control and auditing commissions, including the oblast one which you will be electing, must collaborate closely in contributing to the deepening of democratization in the party, to providing safe guarantees of the irreversibility of restructuring, and to enhancing the Communists' vanguard role. They are called upon to wage a struggle against bureaucratic monstrosities in the actions of party cadres and against their losing touch with working people. The control and auditing commissions must have a big say in the struggle for the purity of party ranks, the struggle to increase Communists' responsibility for the observance of party discipline and unswerving fulfillment of statutory demands.

The election of joint control and auditing commissions will also signify the democratization of their own work, the updating of style and methods, and a move toward control "from below." While upholding and affirming the principles of democratization party control must itself become more democratic, public, and wide-ranging. In their activity control and auditing commissions are urged to rely widely on the initiative and activeness of Communists, the party grassroots, and organs of public and state control.

Control and auditing commissions' successful work will depend on the commitment of all Communists. And, of course, on the support of party committees—rayon, city, and oblast committees. In other words, comrades, let us consult one another, let us work together and together seek the answers to the questions that arise, B.K. Pugo said in conclusion.

During his 22-24 December stay in Tula Oblast B.K. Pugo visited a farm—the Shchekino "Novaya Zhizn" kolkhoz named for I.M. Semenov. There, in the village of Karamyshevo, they obtain up to 50 quintals of grain per hectare regardless of the weather. The livestock units keep highly productive animals, embryo transplants are carried out, which enables them to rapidly increase the number of high-yield cows, and other innovations that have appeared in agricultural production are being introduced.

The chairman of the Party Control Commission under the CPSU Central Committee looked round the farm, talked with the milkmaids and machine operators, and inquired about the conditions of their labor. In the village of Karamyshevo—the center of the kolkhoz—he visited the kolkhoz kindergarten, the distinctive youth complex, the rural general store, and the dining room.

In Tula B.K. Pugo visited a machine building plant, where he viewed the instruments and machinery produced there, familiarized himself with promising innovations, and talked with enterprise leaders and working people.

B.K. Pugo was accompanied on his tour of the oblast by Tula CPSU Obkom First Secretary Yu.I. Litvintsev.

The chairman of the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee participated in the work of an organizational plenum of the party obkom and plenary session of the control and auditing comnmission, both elected by the oblast party conference.

Motives of Moldavian Informal Groups Questioned

PM1001120189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jan 89 First Edition p2

[Article by Captain 3d Rank I. Anfertyev, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent: "Faded Carnations, or How Some Activists in Moldavian Informal Movements Are Slithering off the Path of Restructuring"]

[Text] Kishinev, Moscow—On Sunday, 25 December of what is now last year, there were a lot of people in Kishinev's central square.

"We are slaves! Slaves!" one old woman was shouting.

No one was paying her any attention. The eyes of hundreds of people of Kishinev were fixed on a group of excited people clustered tightly around the rostrum, chanting slogans about glasnost, democracy, and restructuring. Some young men appeared around them. Their faces were preoccupied and they were wearing blue armbands on their sleeves.

Looking around at the fists raised as if at some command, the elderly woman seemed to realize that no one was concerned with her. She turned to a friend standing beside her.

"She says that it is the Moldavians who are paying for everything," some local journalists translated for me. "She says that they are using the earthquake in Armenia as a pretext for robbing Moldavia again and that the people are ignored."

Meanwhile, feelings were growing more heated around the now empty rostrum at the foot of the memorial. More and more fists were being raised in time to the vigorously chanted slogans. A bunch of faded carnations waved above the crowd absurdly, inappropriately, in time with the fists. I tried to find out what the carnations symbolized but failed to come up with anything.

A representative of the Kishinev Gorispolkom appeared on the rostrum. The megaphone he had borrowed from a member of the militia cordon did not help—the excited crowd continued to chant its slogans. But then the rostrum was mounted by a man—not a young man—wearing a black cap and a black leather coat. With a gesture of command he urged the shouting people to silence. He spoke for about 10 minutes and then left the rostrum and walked away with all the rest. I was not able to immediately establish who the man in black was. But he turned out to be Georgiy Gimpu—one of the activists in the informal movement.

When Victory Square was empty of people, I discovered where the carnations had come from. They had been brought by a village woman who had been told the day before that people in Kishinev were being allowed to celebrate a religious festival. She had also been told that people from all over Moldavia would gather for the event and that everyone would be heard and advised how best to live. The deceived peasant woman continued to walk around the square for some time, asking passers-by where she had to go in order to say what she had to say and lay her bunch of carnations.

The spontaneous rally held that Sunday in the central square of the Moldavian capital which later continued on Komsomol Lake was, perhaps, the only event to disturb the normal rhythm of life in this large city. The following week leading up to the New Year passed peacefully: All enterprises and institutions, scientific and academic establishments, and transport were working and newspapers and journals went out on time. But the lull was apparently temporary, transient, of which I became convinced when I attended a reception hosted by I. Gutsu, chairman of the Kishinev Gorispolkom.

"The sociopolitical situation in the capital is being monitored by the city authorities," Ivan Timofeyevich said. "It should not be excessively dramatized, although it would also be a mistake to underestimate the seriousness of the situation. Over the last 6 months the gorispolkom has given permission to hold various rallies and meetings of the city inhabitants, which have been organized by activists from two informal associations—the Democratic Movement in Support of Restructuring and the literature and music club named for the Moldavian poet Aleksey Mateyevich. There have also been spontaneous, unsanctioned demonstrations. Every such incident is given a fundamental appraisal from a legal standpoint."

The rallies, demonstrations, and pointed discussions in the republic press which have unexpectedly become everyday practice in Kishinev's leisurely way of life are only the external, visible side of the complicated, mainly economic and sociopolitical processes vigorously developing in Moldavia. The party's course toward restructuring and the democratization of social life has met with a lively response in the republic. However, the process of revolutionary renewal in all spheres of life is still only beginning to gather momentum, and the accumulated weight of problems and errors from the past has proved too great.

Dissatisfaction with the pace of change and the desire to solve all painful issues with one stroke led the most socially active members of the creative intelligentsia to the idea of forming the so-called Democratic Movement in Support of Restructuring. This decision was made on 3 June 1988 in Kishinev at a general meeting of representatives of the republic's creative unions. A total of 25 people were elected to the aktiv of the movement, the most prominent roles being played by writer A. Brodskiy, journalists V. Kosarev and Ye. Mandykanu, actor M. Fusu, and museum associate Yu. Roshka. In the initial stages, the leaders of the movement said they supported the CPSU policy of restructuring and considered it their aim to involve the republic's working people in the solution of general state tasks via local soviets.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and Kishinev Gorispolkom acquainted me with the various program documents of the Democratic Movement. As far as I was able to understand, their immediate aims are as follows: to achieve official recognition for the movement as a body with full powers expressing the interests of the Moldavian people, the publication of program documents, the establishment of its own periodical, state language status for the Moldavian language, and its transfer to the Latin alphabet. One gets the impression that various statements and declarations by the Democratic Movement have not been uninfluenced

by the program of the Estonian Popular Front, which has been circulated in Moldavia. Another feature of the tactics adopted by the movement's activists is that they are trying to arrogate control functions in relation to party, state, and soviet bodies without giving any hint of having a constructive program of their own in the sphere of socioeconomic transformations.

In all probability, the Democratic Movement's activists have been aware from the very outset that they do not have sufficient weighty grounds for acting on behalf of all the people living on the territory of the Moldavian SSR. That is why they say that any citizen of the republic can become a member of the movement, irrespective of party, ethnic, religious, or other differences, while in reality avoiding cooperation with representatives of party bodies. On the other hand, the movement's activists are doing their utmost to create their own strongholds in enterprises, institutions, and rural areas. It must be assumed that the role of the support groups, whose activity is directed and coordinated by rayon and city councils representing the Democratic Movement, will increase during the nomination of candidates for USSR people's deputies.

Using slogans on restructuring and glasnost as a cover, the movement's activists have recently stepped up their pressure on party and soviet bodies. This has been illustrated, in particular, by a recent address from the Moldavian Writers Union, the resolution of a rally held in Kishinev on 12 November, and the appearance of pickets on 17 November on the central street of the capital....

One cannot fail to notice that the movement's activists have, to all appearances, established firm contact with visiting emissaries from similar movements in the Baltic republics and regularly exchange work experience with them. Some extremist-minded representatives of the Democratic Movement are also taking practical steps to join forces with those leaders of the A. Mateyevich club who are doing their utmost to exacerbate the problem of interethnic relations in the republic.

Seventeen years ago, upon my graduation from technical college in the city of Kirov, I began my working life at the Kishinev M.I. Kalinin Synthetic Leather and Industrial Rubber Products Plant. My first mentors were Ukrainians, Moldavians, Jews, and Russians. Gagauz Vladimir Kendigalyan, Moldavian Ivan Graur, and Bulgarian Nikolay Skoklev—all indigenous inhabitants of the republic—became my friends. We had common joys and common work concerns. To whose advantage is it to sow mistrust between us today?

The 12th issue of the journal GORIZONT, the organ of the Moldavian Komsomol Central Committee and the Moldavian Writers Union, published a lengthy interview with one of the leaders of the A. Mateyevich club—Anatol Shalaru, junior scientific associate of the Research Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology and author of the following statement: "We do not want a Moldavian Karabakh, but we also do not want Moldavia to become a cesspool into which scum from the rest of the country flows." When the club was founded in April last year, Shalaru and others like him said—again, mere words—that their aim was to instill in Moldavian young people a love for their native language, literature, and national art. In reality, however, the club sessions have concentrated increasingly on plugging the questions of the alleged deliberate degradation of the Moldavian language, recognition of its identity with the Romanian language, and the need to extend Moldavia's borders to the Black Sea and the Carpathians. To all appearances, the club activists have established contacts with the Moscow "Democratic Union" and extremists from Armenia.

On 11 November 1988 the republic newspapers published the theses of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers: "To Establish Restructuring by Real Action." At present, this is the only really feasible program of socioeconomic and political transformations to most fully reflect the fundamental interests of all nations and ethnic groups living in Moldavia. The republic's labor and scientific collectives, building sites and transport enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes are conducting a lively discussion of this document. The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee has received a great many real suggestions as to how to solve various urgent problems. Only activists from the Democratic Movement and members of the A. Mateyevich club are making out that the theses either do not concern them or do not suit them on certain particular issues. They have refused all proposals from party leaders to join forces and work together for the common cause of restructuring.

The republic's Central Committee leadership and government managed to reach a consensus with leaders of the informal movements on only a few issues in a meeting which lasted almost 8 hours.

"We suggested that they refrain from publishing program documents," V. Pshenichnikov, secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, said in a conversation with me. "This was motivated by the fact that otherwise another movement along the lines of the Baltic international movements could suddenly spring up to counter the so-called Democratic Movement. This would inevitably exacerbate the already complex situation."

Before I left Kishinev, I learned from Ye. Apostol, deputy chairman of the gorispolkom, that an attempt is being made to legally form a society based on ethnic lines.

"It seems," Yelena Androvna said, not without some concern, "that they are trying to establish an international movement here too."

Time will tell whether this is good or bad. But it is already clear that both sides must primarily be concerned with the fate of restructuring in Moldavia. There are reasons for concern. A great deal has been neglected in the region's economic, social, and cultural development and in ethnic issues. All this must be put right as soon as possible. But the search for solutions could certainly be conducted without the arrogance and excessive passions of which Kishinev has seen more than enough. The rally era is fading—the time for real action is upon us. One would only welcome the growing sociopolitical activity of the republic's working people if against this background there did not stand out the more than strange attempts by certain activists from informal movements to speculate on the difficulties currently being experienced by the republic and earn political capital by any means, even if this capital is of dubious quality.

Ecological Efforts in Belorussia Noted

LD0601195389 Moscow TASS in English 1924 GMT 6 Jan 89

[Text] Minsk January 6 TASS—By TASS correspondent Konstantin Stolyarchuk:

Harmful exhausts into the atmosphere from industrial enterprises in Belorussia have been reduced by more than 80,000 tons in the past year. This undoubtedly helps improve the ecological situation in the republic but does not solve the problem completely, said Viktor Kozlov, chairman of the recently established State Committee on Enviornmental Protection in Belorussia. "Our specialists," he told a TASS correspondent, "came up with a number of proposals that will have serious positive influence on nature conservation.

Here is one of them. The air, as is known, is polluted by electrical engineering and auto plants, the associations of the medical and microbiological industry. However, it is hard to make them build purification plants rather than production facilities. Therefore we proposed that the state committee for environmental protection build them, with enterprises, which pollute nature, only providing funds."

The republic's scientific community raises another concern over the nature conservation. Reserves on the territory of Belorussia are currently occupying an area of one million hectares. However, it should be increased five times if the ecological situation is to improve.

Fifty-nine scientific establishments of the republic are currently engaged in some sort of research into ecological problems. It covers 135 concrete areas and is supervised by the Academy of Sciences of Belorussia. The scientists already worked out a forecast of the possible changes in the environment until the year 2000 which takes into account the possible consequences of economic activity. "In solving all issues related to nature, the opinion of ecological science should have priority," says Professor Vladimir Savchenko, chairman of the Belorussian committee of the UNESCO programme "Man and Biosphere."

Zaykov Remarks on Improving Health Care

LD0701210389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 7 Jan 89

[Text] A meeting today of party economic aktiv figures was devoted to developing health care in Moscow. Comrade Zaykov, who spoke at it, stressed that much had been done in the recent period in order to expose the causes of the neglected state of health care, and to determine constructive ways of raising the level of medical aid. The CPSU Central Committee and the government adopted a number of special resolutions on developing health care in the capital. Speaking at the meeting was USSR Health Minister Chazov. Under discussion were such topical problems as raising the quality of medical service, expanding preventative work in the labor collectives, strengthening the resources of medical establishments, and improving the ecological situation in the city. Taking part in the work of the meeting were doctors from hospitals and polyclinics; leaders of the sector; party, local soviet, and trade union officials; and specialists from scientific centers.

Resolutions on Government Appointments Reported

PM0901110189 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOBRANIYE POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELSTVA SSSR: OTDEL PERVYY in Russian No 36, 1988 carries on pages 627-628 two USSR Council of Ministers resolutions on government appointments.

The resolution on page 627 notes the appointment of V.A. Minenkov as USSR first deputy minister of installation and special construction work. It is signed by N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and M. Smirtyukov, USSR Council of Ministers administrator of affairs, and is dated 26 October 1988.

The resolution on page 628 announces the appointment of M.D. Pelmenev as USSR first deputy minister of geology and chief of the Main Administration for Geology in the RSFSR. It is signed by Ryzhkov and Smirtyukov and is dated 29 October.

Glavlit Official Interviewed on Censorship Trends

PM1001092689 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 28 Dec 88 p 7

[Undated interview with Soviet censor Vladimir Solodin by Laura Starink: "Good Books Always Find a Publisher Here"]

[Text] Moscow—Some 9 months ago I first came across his name in an interview in a Russian paper. Vladimir Alekseyevich Solodin is a board member of the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the

Press, commonly known as Glavlit. Glavlit is feared by everyone who puts pen to paper. Solodin is a censor. Last year he was also chairman of the committee which transferred library books from the restricted to the open collections. Of the more than 8,000 Soviet titles the committee's had through its hands, it released 7,900 to the public.

Glasnost at Glavlit: It seems completely incredible, but now, 9 months later, Vladimir Solodin is sitting in my armchair and indulging my curiosity with obvious pleasure. The censor, a spruce gentleman in middle life, speaks softly—a habit, I like to imagine, that has come from the confidential nature of his work. He enjoys reading Dostoevskiy, one of his favorite books is Sholokov's "And Quiet Flows the Don." He does not like Platonov. He thinks that Nabokov is a good English writer, but by and large he prefers Russian literature.

Glavlit does not only protect state secrets, but for the past year has also been exercising political control over everything that appears in print. Solodin: "Since the twenties Glavlit has consigned a number of works to the restricted library collections for political reasons. These were only available with a special pass. At the end of the fifties we began to transfer these books back to the open collections. At that time 10,000 books were released, but from 1974 to 1987 the process came to a standstill. In that period political views were different. It was decided to withhold books with very pronounced political defects. With the arrival of the new political leadership that process has been set in motion again. Of Soviet editions there are now only around 450 to 460 that have remained proscribed. And at present you can read these 460 'banned' titles; the ban only covers their reprinting. Many of these books, particularly those from the Ukraine, have an anti-Semitic tendency, for example, or they glorify leaders of the secret police such as Yezhov, Beriya, or Yagoda."

Among the books that have been released there are many works by political opponents of Stalin. However, Trotskiy is still not really one of these. "Up to now we have lifted the ban on [vrijgegeven] everything that Trotskiy wrote in Soviet newspapers and journals. But because he has still not been rehabilitated politically in our country, we have not yet made his monographs available. We still proceed from the fact that Trotskiy was a political enemy."

[Starink] Why can you not lift the ban on books by political enemies?

[Solodin] That may well happen, but you have to understand that this is a slow process. To be frank, we are only just getting down to work. The whole committee consists of seven men and we have looked at 8,000 Soviet titles. Now we are starting work on emigre literature. That is an enormous task.

[Starink] And if you were simply to allow everything that already exists?

[Solodin] That would be much easier, but you also have to learn democracy. And of course this is happening here at great speed. I had thought that we would lift the ban on about half of the banned books, but the figure ended up as 95 percent. But the thing about emigres is this: An emigre is a person who has been wounded and for that reason is sometimes subjective in his judgments. He does not always talk about his country in the terms it deserves. Things are already difficult enough for us. We are seeking new roads and cannot allow emigres to make us a universal target.

[Starink] What then are the criteria you use?

[Solodin] We have two very simple criteria. We do not allow nonsense about Lenin to be sold and we do not accept any clear anti-Soviet fabrications. But we are now lifting the ban on much of what the dissidents wrote in the sixties and seventies. In the past we were afraid that these books would undermine our political system. Now much more controversial subjects are being broached in our own mass media.

[Starink] But I suspect that perhaps there is still a limit and that this is drawn when it comes to Gorbachev.

[Solodin] Let me say this: Gorbachev is a zone of cautious approach. This goes without saying, really. He is the leader of a country that finds itself in a difficult position. Of course the leader can be criticized, but there is probably a point in protecting him from slander.

[Starink] What is slander? Have you a definition?

[Solodin] Slander is the deliberate distortion of facts. Whenever it is said that Gorbachev is just putting old wine into new bottles, that restructuring is one of the possible ways of saving Stalinism in a somewhat modernized form, that is slander. Are we always objective? I do not think so.

[Starink] Why can Solzhenitsyn not be published?

[Solodin] I do not think that it is impossible to publish Solzhenitsyn. I would publish "Cancer Ward," "The First Circle," and "August 1914." But this does not apply to his "Gulag Archipelago" and his historical work, "The Red Wheel." Solzhenitsyn slanders Lenin's policies. For example, read the chapter in which he describes how Lenin wanted to come to power, at any price. That is not accurate. Solzhenitsyn is a great writer. He was persecuted and imprisoned in a camp. Somewhere he has a personal resentment against the man who thought up and created this system, the man who transcends his talent.

[Starink] But surely people can decide for themselves where truth ends and slander begins?

[Solodin] Who knows: Perhaps we are too afraid that the boat is beginning to rock too much. Who knows: Perhaps we are too cautious. Our democracy is now growing somewhat faster than our economic possibilities. When the two move too far apart, you get a dangerous situation. These processes must be synchronized to some degree. However, everything is happening at lightning speed. No doubt, 2 years ago you would not have thought it possible that we would be sitting here talking.

[Starink] But does what you do have any point? You know that those people who want to read Solzhenitsyn know how to get their hands on his books.

[Solodin] What do you mean by "those people?" Are they 100,000 intellectuals? But we have 280 million Soviet citizens. There is a significant difference between publishing Solzhenitsyn and the fact that some people "know how to get their hands on his books." Marxism teaches that quantity develops into quality. I know that all the intelligentsia have read Solzhenitsyn. That does not frighten us.

[Starink] How do you assess the changes in your own work in the period that has just gone?

[Solodin] One should not exaggerate. I have just looked at your bookcase; you have here many excellent books published in the seventies and eighties by rural writers [dorpsschrijvers] such as Fedor Abramov, Vasiliy Belov, and Boris Mozhayev. We did withhold a number of books, but let me tell you: For books by talented writers censorship is no hindrance. As a rule these were books with elements of political speculation. Now people say: Censorship destroyed everything. But Abramov's books were published, albeit with some cuts, and they are relevant right up to today. Editors who do not want any trouble with their authors also often hid behind censorship if they did not want to publish a book. I often hear writers say that we banned their books. If we then look into it we seem never to have had those books. We worked fairly secretly and they ascribed so much to us that even we are now surprised to see how we worked.

[Starink] How do you work, then?

[Solodin] We remove state or military secrets without exception, but apart from that we do not change a word. And many categories of text are also no longer our responsibility. Children's, medical, and geological literature are no longer controlled. We look at around 15 percent of published texts, principally scientific and technical literature and socioeconomic writings. There you find things that are not suitable for publication. We are after all the second world power, and we do have one or two things to keep under our hats. Perhaps we still cannot produce decent video recorders, but we have launched a space shuttle. Some 2 years ago the Americans published a list of facts that they had simply fished out of our open publications. They were all used in the arms industry. Some eccentric or other here in the Soviet Union invented 9 or 10 years ago a lacquer with which to coat beer cans. We do not have beer, so no one was very excited about this invention. He took out a patent, the Americans bought it from him, and then it emerged that bomber aircraft are rendered virtually invisible to radar by this lacquer. We were not happy about that; we had done our work badly.

[Starink] What do you do with foreign books?

[Solodin] Until recently they were nearly all in the restricted collections. This applied to the majority of periodicals and books in foreign languages. This summer we lifted the restriction on around 92 to 95 percent of them. There are still a few publications remaining that contain very unpleasant personal descriptions and obscenity. That is unusual in Soviet journalism, but you sometimes come across it in the West. The Lenin Library has opened up almost the whole of its restricted collection. The problem is simply that all these millions of books have to be transferred to the general catalogue. We finished our work in September and did away with around 80 percent of all restricted collections.

[Starink] Have you released Robert Conquest's standard work over the Stalin terror, "The Great Terror," for example?

[Solodin] That still has to be looked at. We have set aside 10,000 to 15,000 books, about which there was a difference of opinion. Whenever there are doubts books are read by two or three people. And we only undertake sanctions if we are agreed on it. It is a very careful process; it uses not a blunt ax but a scalpel.

[Starink] How do you censor what comes from abroad?

[Solodin] We have an office at the head post office. Every country itself determines what it permits, as agreed in paragraph 34 of the International Postal Convention. We do not open letters; that is forbidden by law. The rumors about such things are greatly exaggerated. Our work has acquired different emphases. In the past we informed party bodies about the political mistakes or shortcomings in texts; now this is exclusively the responsibility of the editor of the periodical or of the publishing house. We exercise preventive censorship on newspapers and periodicals. We are the only body able to remove factual information from publications. It is no secret that 90 percent of military facts are taken from open publications.

[Starink] Is there now a censor in every editorial office and how many are there in total?

[Solodin] Not in every office, but everything is checked. The number of censors is secret, but I am close to the truth when I say that there are less than 2,000 for the whole country.

[Starink] NOVYY MIR was planning to publish Solzhenitsyn. The cover with this announcement was already prepared when the plan was torpedoed. Was that your work?

[Solodin] No, that was not censorship, I can assure you. I learned of this from Western publications and telephoned the chief editor. He said that they had had such a plan, but that he had been given to understand from above "that it was not thought opportune." He did not go into any more detail, and that is of course his editorial secret.

[Starink] There is a rumor circulating in Moscow that Gorbachev himself banned the publication. Do the Politburo members take an active interest in your work?

[Solodin] In the past our department fell under Aleksandr Yakovlev, now we are under Vadim Medvedev. As far as I know neither of them has ever interfered in our work. We are accountable to the Central Committee. As a result of changes to the political system, we will probably be accountable in the future to the Supreme Soviet. Shortly the Law on the Press will be published and in it our rights and duties will be set out for the first time, as will the rights of authors and publishing houses, and the channels of appeal for people whose work is censored.

[Starink] Do you think that this process could again be brought to a standstill?

[Solodin] No, there could at most be a delay. It is no longer possible to put books back in the restricted collections. Perhaps there will be moments when glasnost will have to be regulated more or less, but there is no doubt that this process is irreversible, even in the case of so conservative a service as the censor's office.

[Starink] You have worked for Glavlit for 25 years. Do you not regret all the banned books?

[Solodin] I do not doubt that much has been lost. But everyone makes mistakes in history. In our case they were quite serious and tragic. I explain it as a result of lack of political confidence in our people. According to the Brockhaus and Efron dictionaries, the censor's office is a service that uses the printed word as a tool to implement the policies of a group of people who are in power. I have still not been able to find a better description anywhere. People say that you cannot live in a society and at the same time be independent of it. I thought at the time that I was acting correctly. There were a few doubts, but there is also something such as party discipline, and that is something that I always observed strictly.

[Starink] How do people react when you say you are a censor?

[Solodin] The whole of literary Moscow knows me and, as far as my work allows, people are relatively kindly disposed toward me. I have many friends among writers and journalists. After censorship there is also self-censorship. Two or three years ago an author himself knew what he could not get through. For this reason we did not have conflicts very often.

[Starink] But isn't self-censorship just a direct result of your work?

[Solodin] I cannot deny that. You want to know whether I have an inferiority complex because of my work. No. And not because I am a hater of literature. I find myself in this post and have to carry out my work honorably and conscientiously. Do you know which past Russian writers were censors? Saltykov-Shchedrin, Tyutchev, Goncharov, Fet, and dozens of others.

[Starink] Do you think that Glavlit will ever be disbanded?

[Solodin] Yes, when editors themselves are able to judge what they can and cannot publish. At present we still have work enough, but that will not last forever.

[Starink] Why are there still so few Western newspapers and periodicals sold in the Soviet Union?

[Solodin] This is not for political, but for purely financial reasons. A year's subscription to a U.S. newspaper costs $500. For Moscow 1,000 papers is a tiny figure, but they would cost us all of $500,000.

[Starink] In the past people were sentenced for duplicating material. Are all photocopiers at enterprises still under lock and key?

[Solodin] That system is being scrapped. It was partly due to the fears we had about it, but there was also a real reason. There was terrible speculation in copies of books. In one or two years, it seems to me, it will be possible simply to put a ruble coin in a photocopier and copy everything you want. At the present moment we have very few photocopiers and they are much needed for official purposes. I would like to have such a machine at home, but they are not for sale.

[Starink] How does Glavlit view unofficial publications like Sergey Grigoryants' GLASNOST?

[Solodin] It was not Glavlit that prosecuted such publications in the past. There were other bodies for that. But the West believes in this Grigoryants quite wrongly. He is tricking you just as successfully as he is tricking us. He phones half of Europe and reports what is happening here. What could be easier than to interrupt his telephone calls? But no one is hounding him.

[Starink] Will it soon be possible to set up collective publishing houses, independent of the state publishing houses?

[Solodin] I think so, but hitherto our collectives have not played so positive a role. There are too many rogues involved. They work to get rich, not to increase the quantity of merchandise for sale. At present an American-Russian joint venture, Sovaminko, is being set up to publish tourist guides to the Soviet Union. The machinery is being imported from the United States, we are supplying the labor force, and Finland is supplying the paper.

[Starink] Many writers complain that the Goskomizdat state publishing house works very slowly and very inefficiently.

[Solodin] Believe me: Good books always find a publisher. We have 12,000 professional writers. Surely you do not think that they are all geniuses? I have been working with literature for a quarter of a century, but of these 12,000 writers less than 100 have stuck in my memory. Unfortunately many of them are convinced of their own genius, although reading their work sets your teeth on edge. At present the level of literature is pitiful. You read poems that any ninth-grader could produce. But writers are a self-centered group of people; every one of them thinks, as we say, that he has a hotline to the Almighty. Indeed, if a young writer were to go to a collective, he would be published at five times the price.

[Starink] How did you come to work for Glavlit?

[Solodin] I am an economist by profession. I wrote my thesis on the economic ties between the Soviet Union and China. On the day I was awarded my doctorate these ties were broken off. They wanted me to rewrite my thesis, but I refused, and so I had to find employment elsewhere.

[Starink] Did you not start work for Glavlit because you would be able to read books that other people did not get to see?

[Solodin] (Solodin laughed) There is perhaps a grain of truth in that. I would put it like this: The opportunity to become well informed which my work offers is one of its most attractive sides.

[Starink] And the power?

[Solodin] No, none of us has sadistic tendencies. Only stupid people want to tyrannize talented people.

Playwright Vaksberg Interviewed on Glasnost

PM0601164489 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 6 Jan 89 p 12

[Article based on recent London interview with Soviet playwright Arkadiy Vaksberg by George Walden: "For Us Russians, There Can Be No Turning Back"]

[Text] Is the West too credulous about what is happening in the Soviet Union today? It certainly has been in the past. I have been doing some research in the archives of the British Foreign Office for a book I am writing on Vyshinskiy, the chief prosecutor at Stalin's show trials. Vyshinskiy was a monster, a fiend (perhaps this is why he used to douse himself in eau-de-Cologne?). Yet the records show that the British and American governments were incredibly naive about the so-called plots and the trials.

Things are very different in the Soviet Union today: that is why I can write the truth about Vyshinskiy. As a dramatist, I try to understand the West's reaction to Gorbachev; I ask myself how I would react. I think I would have mixed emotions. I would be glad it was happening, but afraid of premature rejoicing. I would be a little sceptical, a little cautious. But not too cautious. In decisive moments of history no-one can afford to watch events like a theatre, luxuriating in ambiguous emotions. Everyone has to help the action forward, to make a successful ending inevitable.

It is vital to recognise the full extent of what is happening. The words in Gorbachev's speech to the United Nations were as important as the troop and tank cuts he was announcing. They show that he is learning and teaching a new tongue, throwing off the burden of the old, deformed language. People listen to him in the Soviet Union and abroad because what he says connects with reality.

There is a certain moral fatigue in the Soviet people. It comes from the gulf between the words our leaders used to speak and what people saw around them. This ugly, alienating language led to a psychology of separatism in the Soviet view of the world. Mayakovskiy, the greatest Russian poet of the 1920s, dreamt of Russia living with foreigners "in a single human habitation". Instead, we have endured half a century of painful isolation, as though we were some infected species. Changing the lexicon is a first step to freedom. As the language of class hatred, grotesque self-praise and half-truths disappear, the psychology of a whole people is changing.

Yes, there is opposition to Gorbachev, but less in the Politburo than at lower levels. It will not be easily overcome: the bureaucrats behave the way they do because it is in their nature and function. Only new political structures will change things. They, too, will be

difficult to introduce. It is sometimes suggested that Gorbachev will have to behave like Peter the Great, forcing people to modernise their attitudes whether they want to or not.

But it is wrong to think that we are in the grip of a relentless inertia. We are simply not used to taking decisions. In the past, nobody wanted to do anything until he was ordered. Poverty was preferred to activity. Sometimes this attitude persists. Recently a Soviet poet wrote ironically: "They have given us freedom, but they have not told us what to do with it."

This passivity is changing. In the new climate, people are taking initiatives, setting up everything from legal aid associations to shashlik stalls. There are problems of adjustment, especially in private enterprise. When people grumble about the price of the shashlik, I tell them that the more stalls there are, the lower the price will be. The alternative is no shashlik at all...

Education is being modernised, too. The importance of computers in schools is not only technical: they help people to think in global terms, and make it impossible to perpetuate provincial dogmas. People watch more television because they are fascinated by the sight of others saying openly what they have always known to be true.

Yet we are still a nation of readers. When there was a move to restrict the circulation of "heavy" publications under the pretext of a paper shortage, there was a huge public outcry. The circulation of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, where I write, has doubled in a year to six million copies. Will we simply produce another generation of Turgenev's heroes, people for whom passionate intellectual debate is a substitute for action? I doubt it. People enjoy the new freedom of discussion, but they want a nice flat and a good dinner, too.

Will we be submerged by a wave of pop and sex? Inevitably there will be a period of imitation of Western cultural models. But I am more worried about repeating our own mistakes of the past than the mistakes of the West. In the longer term, the distinctive values of our country will prevail: a particular directness and lack of artificiality in personal relations between people, the notion of chastity, and a certain spiritual potential. In art and literature, only the mediocre will continue to ape the West in everything. Under Brezhnev, we lost hundreds of our most creative people by emigration. Now the normal process of return has begun.

For the man in the street, the economic benefits have yet to materialise clearly. Sometimes things are worse than before, because the economy has been inadequately prepared for change. Conservative forces can no longer win the argument by reason; but if the fruits of change take too long to show, they will exploit any signs of impatience. For me, the thought of going backwards, of a return to the Cold War, is appalling.

Our country is at a crucial transitional stage in its history. I realise that the main effort must come from us. But it is no use the West saying to Gorbachev: "A lot of the cards are stacked against you. But we shall be with you if you win." In addition to moral support and developing every kind of contact, the West should take advantage of the new business opportunities in the Soviet Union—in services as well as manufacturing. There are so many things we lack.

I am an optimist because optimism is an obligation. There is no time for pessimism. I do not just want my grandchildren to see the results: I want to see them myself.

In the past, history has worked against us. After the reforms of Alexander II at the end of the 19th century, the atmosphere was poisoned by terrorism and assassinations. Then there was the war, and the aftermath of revolution, and another war. Today there is a unique chance to develop democracy in the Soviet Union in stable circumstances.

As I was walking past Trafalgar Square one day a girl with spiky hair suddenly called out to me in the street: "You look like Mr Gorbachev." I do not know if I do or not. But it shows that he has made a deep impression on ordinary people in the West, as well as in my country.

First Issue of GOVERNMENT HERALD Published

LD1101033789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] The first issue of the GOVERNMENT HERALD, the newspaper of the USSR Council of Ministers, has come out. This newspaper is born of restructuring. With the democratization of the political system and the deepening of the radical reform of the economy, the need is growing to expand glasnost in the sphere of state management, and to provide the public with regular information about the government's activities. This is how the address to readers by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, starts. The first issue tells us about the most pressing problems presently facing the USSR Council of Ministers, about letters from the working people, and about the first days in the operation of the Soviet People's Commissariat.

Letters Focus on 'Democracy Without Anarchy'

PM1001150389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Yu. Orlik, deputy editor of IZVESTIYA mailbag department, reviews readers letters under the rubric "Reading Your Letters": "Democracy Without Anarchy"]

[Text] "Reading newspapers and watching television, one feels he is having a nightmare," V. Osipov from Arkhangelsk complains. "Nothing but catastrophes, rallies, strikes... In our city bus drivers went on strike. Who

were they striking against? Against themselves. Then they added up the losses.... No, we cannot be given democracy; we do not know how to use it."

"The 'revolutionary' transformations (American style) have merely introduced discord and confusion into the normal rhythm of life and created an explosive situation in many regions," writes T. Chabanyuk from Pervomaysk in Nikolayev Oblast, addressing his remarks "to the very top."

These are typical admissions. In many people's minds there is confusion and apprehension. But these are not the only letters reflecting social moods.

"I am an ardent champion of the great cause launched in our country, and the 27th CPSU Congress was my congress although I am not a Communist," writes M. Kurganskiy, a teacher from Ladozhskaya village in Ust-Labinskiy Rayon, Krasnodar Kray. "I and my comrades have always believed that the time of truth will come. A time when the country's leaders will not cover up its problems and when people will not have to hide their convictions. When people who do not share the official viewpoint will no longer be entered in the files as turncoats, dissidents, and so forth. The absence of threats, of violence being done to people's minds, and of the persecution of dissenters must become a norm of our life."

The coexistence of cautious, wait-and-see attitudes with the readiness to participate "in the great cause which has been launched" is a characteristic feature of any transitional period. Including ours. Its dramatic nature is due to the clash with the powerful inertia of the past. "After all, restructuring is affecting the social structures and economic relations themselves, which automatically kept reproducing the former order and called for precisely that kind of talentless leader and executive who did not care about anything," G. Sanaya, an engineer from Kutaisi, writes. "This is why both these categories of people are playing an active part in hampering restructuring."

Restructuring is being blamed for allegedly "having brought anarchy rather than democracy to the country" (S. Kolosov, Irkutsk). "Today's heroes are strikers, informals, homosexuals, and Riga market bingo players," notes L. Savkina from Lyubertsy, Moscow Oblast, with irritation. "Both Stalin and the 'Voprosy Leninisma' ["Questions of Leninism"; a Stalin work published in 1926] are being rejected, as is everything that has been built up over the past 70 years.... Let's see where 'mixed capitalism' will get you,"—this is a quote from a letter by V. Shatalov from Donetsk. "There is nothing sacred to you," N. Shumilin from Krivoy Rog declares.

When you read letters like these you inevitably think: Are their authors not exaggerating by claiming that virtually all the foundations have been destroyed, that continuity has been disrupted? Let us clarify what kind of foundations and what kind of continuity are at issue here. It is true that the foundations of the administrative-edict system are being destroyed today, that the fetters of the dogmas which constrained our life are being shattered, and that false authorities are being debunked. It is true that we are trying to cast off the burdensome legacy of Stalinism, that we are trying to put an end to the mortifying spirit of stagnation with which Brezhnev "enriched" us, and to rid ourselves of some other "values." Is it worth mourning these losses? In general, has the time not come to stop manifesting only vigilance and a protective zeal whenever we encounter anything new?

This is what I. Osadchiy from Krasnodar writes, for instance: "The slogan 'More Democracy!' is not a call for liberalization, total license, or anarchic dissipation. Democracy means people's power, rule by the people. In conditions of revolutionary restructuring it must not become eroded, grow soft, or take on a viscous state." It is impossible to disagree with the author of the letter thus far. But then... Having advised the authorities to be "firmer, tougher, and stricter," I. Osadchiy declares that "at the current stage of the development of our society there are quite a few places where revolutionary violence could be applied in the interests of strengthening democracy and socialism, in the interests of cleansing the socialist society of all kind of antisocialist filth." He proceeds to mention these places—"the multifarious, multifaceted informal associations."

"What is needed is the big stick of Peter the Great," writes V. Shevchenko from Leningrad, shifting the discussion from the theoretical to the practical sphere. "Stalin issued orders only once. There was never a second time," Muscovite A. Mikhaylov adds. "Restructuring needs to get tougher...."

Restructuring has brought about an unleashing of social energy. Powerful popular movements in support of restructuring have emerged, informal associations, civic initiatives, alliances, and clubs have stepped up their activities. "Political life has emerged from the underground," writes Candidate of Sciences I. Shamshurin from Leningrad. "The party has gained new helpers and critics as a result of its revolutionary transforming activities. Yes, it has gained critics. And it stands to gain from this in the process of mastering the methods of political leadership and political struggle after the long years of issuing commands on the one hand and of unconditional subordination on the other...." "It would be politically naive to assume," I. Shamshurin goes on, "that in conditions of radical change and the polarization of social forces no extremist, adventurist groups will spring up and try to seize the initiative and establish their influence.... However, it is impermissible to condemn all social initiatives for this reason, or to clip their wings."

Reading the letters one is able to see, alas, how tenacious the philosphy of lack of freedom still is. Many people are afraid of change; they would prefer to live in ignorance as

in the past. "Is it not time to put an end to all this glasnost?!"—V. Sokolov from Izhevsk exclaims. We seem to be unable to rid ourselves of suspiciousness. V. Trutnev from Odessa, frightened by events in certain national republics, claims that "hidden enemies of Soviet power have begun to surface." Yu. Pokryshkin from Chelyabinsk proposes that a law on strikes be adopted and that their organizers be "tried like criminals since they have been bribed by foreign intelligence." "The time has come for arrests," N. Kobychenko from Baku advises—without bothering to specify who should be arrested.

Today we are reaping the fruits of yesterday. We are able to see this for ourselves at every step. "The country," A. Badadin from Feodosiya writes, "has gained freedom! Do you know what this means? So much indignation, pain, humiliation, and protest has been stored up in people's hearts that unless the process of dispelling it all is controlled and kept within reasonable bounds, disaster is not far away."

This is particularly true of interethnic relations. It must be noted that the events connected with the exacerbation of interethnic relations are perceived by readers as evidence of weakness on the part of the authorities, as a manifestation of the selfsame anarchy which "we have arrived at." V. Korotyshka writes from Semipalatinsk: "Not a single question is resolved quickly in our country. Everything drags on and on. Take, for instance, the same old Nagorno-Karabakh...."

What can be said in this context? By no means can the old, tight historical knots always be cut through with one swing of the sword, as the mythological hero did. We must take care not to damage the living fabric of society, not to inflict new wounds on society. The heated atmosphere cannot be cooled by means of administrative zeal alone. "Tanks and commandant's offices (if this stage has already been reached) do not resolve the question," V. Bovkun from Kiliy in Odessa Oblast notes very aptly in reference to the events in Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Tension in ethnic relations is more often than not the result of unsolved, neglected social problems and regional contradictions pertaining to economic and social development. Here is a very characteristic letter: Ye. Tarasova from Liyepaya describes how she was prevented from sending a box of candy to Siberian friends to mark their name day. The post office refused to accept the parcel, alluding to a local regulation according to which the dispatch of goods in high demand is temporarily banned. These kinds of excesses stem from an economy beset by shortages. "A society plagued by shortages and unsatisfied essential needs is itself fraught with conflict," L. Karskiy from Tashkent notes in this context.

Writing about the fact that social life has grown more complex and strained and has spilled into the streets and squares, readers note that the voice of party leaders simply cannot be heard in the ballyhoo. G. Alekseyeva, an engineer from Leningrad, writes that "this is particularly important in situations which are difficult to control—of which there are quite a few today." "If the secretary for ideology is unable to persuade people whose attitude is by no means hostile but who simply cannot tolerate lies, is he in the right job?"—V. Morozov from Chelyabinsk asks with good reason.

Street democracy and rally-mania is, of course, not the best way of resolving questions and ascertaining public opinion. People's power must not be confused with mob power. "Are the noisy speeches and strikes likely to improve our life?"—T. Golubovich from Gomel asks. "This way we will be standing in line for another 100 years telling each other about the good life abroad."

Today we are only just learning the knack of living a democratic life. We are learning to understand what freedom means—we are learning that it is not just the presentation of ultimatums but also the achievement of sensible compromises. We are learning that political or national passions are not to be gambled with. We are learning to resolve conflicts in a civilized fashion. We are learning democracy without anarchy.

Visa Department Chief Explains New Exit Rules

PM1001144589 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 1, 6-12 Jan 89 (Signed to Press 5 Jan 89) p 3

[Interview with R. Kuznetsov, chief of the USSR MVD Maintenance of Public Order Main Administration Visa and Registration Department, by correspondent A. Uglanov: "News From Visa and Registration Department"—date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] R. Kuznetsov, chief of the USSR MVD Maintenance of Public Order Main Administration Visa and Registration Department, answers questions from ARGUMENTY I FAKTY.

[Uglanov] How far have USSR entry and exit rules for temporary trips by Soviet citizens been simplified?

[Kuznetsov] All restrictions on trips by invitation to capitalist countries, including Israel, have now been removed. All that remain are the restrictions envisaged by Article 25 of the Statute on Entry and Exit. Moreover, for a temporary visit by invitation there is no need to indicate the degree of relationship, it can simply be an acquaintance who issues the invitation. In addition, relatives are allowed to visit Soviet Embassy officials and representatives working in international organizations and trade missions....

Over the New Year period the flow of people leaving on visits by invitation significantly increased. In some cases this is connected with the fact that in many countries the sales have begun in the stores. But most, of course, want to spend the New Year with relatives and friends.

New entry rules have also been introduced for Soviet citizens who reside permanently abroad. Since mid-December all they have needed to do is put in an application to the embassy or consulate and obtain permission to enter.

[Uglanov] It is well known that emigration from the country has increased to a certain extent.

[Kuznetsov] As for exit from the USSR for permanent residence abroad, in the United States, for example, there is a definite quota for emigrants from the Soviet Union—16,500 people per year: 12,500 for entry of Soviet emigrants who have temporarily settled in Rome and Vienna, and the remaining 4,000 for people emigrating directly from the Soviet Union.

According to our figures, at present about 12,000 people want permission to enter the United States as "refugees." The U.S. side in this case pays for the passage and helps them to get settled. And this is very onerous from the financial viewpoint. So now entry visas are also issued against guarantees from relatives living in the United States. The Americans are now advising those who wish to leave for the United States not to approach the Visa and Registration Department until they have received their relatives' guarantee.

[Uglanov] You have just been in the United States, where you discussed emigration questions, among other things....

[Kuznetsov] The discussions were correct, but we were perplexed at the questions about the right to free exit in our country. People approach us with requests for exit visas and receive permission, but the U.S. Embassy takes a long time to issue the visa and may not issue it at all. Meanwhile state apartments are given up and cooperative ones are sold. People give up their jobs. But how are they supposed to live and where can they go?

In addition, the U.S. side must somehow correct its legislation in the sense that if relatives in the United States pledge to support the emigrants, why should they be considered "refugees"? In fact, they force people to give information known to be false and to invent "instances of oppression" in order to come under this category.

In the 1st 11 months of 1988 more than 90,000 people with children up to 18 years of age left the USSR. These were mostly persons of German, Jewish, and Armenian nationality. Fewer people leave for the European countries since entry rules there are quite stringent.

[Uglanov] Has the number of temporary trips changed?

[Kuznetsov] It has sharply increased. This is clear from our volume of work. Before the end of 1988 the number of reciprocal private trips by citizens will reach about 1 million people.

True, I would like to say that with the permitted exchange of foreign currency of R420 per 2-month visit to a capitalist or developing country the following also happens.

There are reports from a number of embassies that the visitors do not even leave the airport building but simply shop. Resourceful local traders bring goods especially for them directly to the airport—mainly radios and video equipment. So they live at the air terminals with their bundles waiting for the next flight home. But some of them have not seen their relatives for years. There are many such cases in Cyprus with people who have set out to visit relatives in Israel but do not get to the "promised land," or rather had no such intention....

In conclusion, I would like to say that the rules connected with trips abroad are being constantly updated. Now new legislative acts are being prepared. They are being prepared with the aim of further developing cooperation between the USSR and other countries in the humanitarian and other spheres and expanding the existing practice of contacts between people and in light of the USSR's international pledges on these questions.

Observer Views Danger Posed By Dogmatists

PM1001111189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 7 Jan 89 p 1

[Article by own political observer Grigoriy Oganov under the "Political Profile of a Problem" rubric: "The 'Lions' Growl..."]

[Excerpts] It has long been noted that changed circumstances, particularly radically changed ones, can throw into confusion and even induce holy terror in dogmatically minded people who are incapable of carrying out sober analysis and drawing firm conclusions. These people are not very dangerous as long as they merely propagate their own views, until, that is, they begin to act after finally succumbing to panic.

The psychology of such people is unpredictable, their state of mind is unstable. They can decide on desperate acts, including those which they could not have conceived of just yesterday and which would seem to run counter to their nature, views, and convictions.

We have had to contend with something similar during the turbulent times of restructuring. And the reaction to the changed conditions, to the need to restructure, to the key demand of the times has been very varied, even contrary among different people.

Some have been frightened by the "sharp turns" and fearful that many of the gains of socialism will be threatened or, even, God forbid, lost through oversight. Others have complained that the restructuring measures are not radical enough and that the situation is changing too slowly and not as they would wish.

There has been a kind of criticism "on the right" and "on the left." And underpinning this "bifurcation" has been either a hostility to any changes or disruption of the customary order of things that existed for many years or an upsetting of the ideas of restructuring formed by some people afflicted by impatience.

But let us go beyond the borders of our country, even the borders of the socialist system. Let us look at the world of capitalism and that classic capitalist country—the United States. There too different people are confronting the new phenomena generated notably by our restructuring and, in particular, by the set of relations, reaction, and evaluations dubbed new thinking.

Yes, different people do regard what is happening differently.

Some are pleased at the triumph of the new thinking and its specific manifestations, including the Soviet-American treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles which laid the foundation for the process of gradually eliminating nuclear armaments in the future. [passage omitted]

But there are others too. They, the incorrigible haters of socialism, are incapable of grasping either the need for a new approach to world problems or emotionally accepting the idea of human fraternity and the equality of black and white, rich and poor. They, I would stress here, who belong to the clan of American rightwing diehards, take pride in their piety and adherence to the dogmas of Christian teaching. And yet these people, caught up in a vicious circle where a view such as the misanthropic call to "kill the commie" has acquired the status of one of the chief postulates of Americanism, appear to us as medieval obscurantists, intellectually unenlightened people who fail to understand the age they live in and are hopelessly and dangerously behind the times. [passage omitted]

Civil Aviation Expands International Ties

LD1001002389 Moscow TASS in English 2241 GMT 9 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—Cooperation between organisations of the USSR Civil Aviation Ministry and their foreign partners was characterized in 1988 by the beginning of joint enterprise and foreign trade. Vladimir Samorukov, head of the ministry's international commercial department, told TASS about this cooperation. He said that his department dealt with a whole package of problems connected with the commercial exploitation of Aeroflot International Air Lines. Talks on this subject were held last year with partners from many countries. Agreements were reached on the opening of an air bridge connecting Tashkent and New Delhi and of the Moscow-Tokyo freight air line. At present a possibility of organising regular air traffic between Moscow and Seoul is being discussed.

Joint ventures with foreign firms are playing a more and more important part in the international activities of the Civil Aviation Ministry. A Boeing-747 has been jointly used with Pan-American on the Moscow-New York route since last year. Pan American and Aeroflot go halves in the profits and have the right to sell the equal number of tickets to each flight. This kind of cooperation proved to be mutually advantageous, and the sides are going to spread it to the construction and exploitation of a hotel in Moscow. Plans to jointly build hotel complexes are also being discussed with a number of other companies. The duty-free shop Aerofirst created with the assistance of the Irish Air Company Air Rianta is functioning at the Sheremetyevo airport.

Trade in civil aviation equipment became last year another sphere of activities of the USSR Civil Aviation Ministry. Specifically, ground air navigation equipment for the Trans-Siberian air route was purchased from the West German company Standard Elektrik Lorenz. Under the agreement signed, the frequency of flights of Soviet and foreign planes by this route will be perceptibly increased this year, Samorukov said.

According to our estimates, turnover of the International Commercial Department of the Civil Aviation Ministry will exceed this year one billion roubles, he pointed out in conclusion.

Railroad Breaks Rules for Shipping Explosives

PM0901113589 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 5 Jan 89 p 2

[V. Ukolov report: "No Guarantees Against Disaster"]

[Text] Perm—The newspaper editorial office has received an alarming letter. Workers at an enterprise producing explosives for coal and ore mining and for other national economic needs have reminded us of the tragic events in Arzamas and Sverdlovsk—the result of a negligent attitude to the transportation of dangerous freight. Apparently, they say, railroad workers have not learned the proper lessons from this.

Following the tragic events, an order was issued via the Ministry of Railways which stipulated the need to "establish at the dispatch station a constant stock of closed cars suitable for transporting the daily requirement of special-category freight."

How are the leaders of the Sverdlovsk Railroad putting this into practice? A lot of particularly dangerous freight has built up at warehouses, 600 tonnes over and above the norm. His Majesty Chance is once again deciding what happens. A threat hangs over totally unsuspecting people.

USSR Drug Addiction Prevalence Quantified

PM1001093389 Moscow TRUD in Russian 7 Jan 89 p 4

[Report by USSR State Committee for Statistics under the rubric "We Answer Readers' Questions": "Strict Control"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] "How many drug addicts are there in our country—fewer or more than a year or two ago?" (L. Gavrichenko, Zhitomir).

The USSR State Committee for Statistics provided the answer.

There are still no data for 1988. But the USSR State Committee for Statistics reports the following for previous years.

In 1987 there were (in the country as a whole) 21.5 people suffering from drug addiction for every 100,000 people (in 1984 there were 13.7 people). This growth is, perhaps, accounted for by more careful registering of drug addicts.

The highest level of drug addiction [per 100,000 people] is in Turkmenia—129.9 people; and the lowest in Armenia (6.3 people) and in Belorussia (4.8 people).

Leaders Sign Obituary of Mathematician Sobolev

PM0901124589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 89 Second Edition p 8

[Obituary of Academician S.L. Sobolev]

[Excerpts] Soviet science has suffered a grave loss. Academician Sergey Lvovich Sobolev, an outstanding Soviet scientist and mathematician, adviser to the USSR Academy of Sciences V.A. Steklov Mathematics Institute Board, Hero of Socialist Labor, and member of the CPSU since 1940, died 3 January 1989 aged 80. [passage omitted]

The studies carried out by S.L. Sobolev are a fundamental contribution to the development of the theory of differential equations, functional analysis, mathematical physics, and computational mathematics. His books and monographs have won international acclaim. [passage omitted]

V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, V.A. Medvedev, N.N. Slyunkov, A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, O.D. Baklanov, G.I. Marchuk, O.S. Bolyakov, A.S. Kapto, B.I. Shimko, G.A. Yagodin, Ye.P. Velikhov, V.A. Koptyug, A.A. Logunov, G.A. Mesyats, Yu.A. Osipyan, K.V. Frolov, A.Ya. Degtyarev, I.M. Makarov, V.A. Kotelnikov, A.L. Yanshin, A.D. Aleksandrov, A.S. Alekseyev, N.N. Bogolyubov, V.S. Vladimirov, I.M. Gelfand, A.A. Gonchar, M.M. Lavrentyev, V.A. Marchenko, B.P. Maslov, V.Ye. Nakoryakov, S.M. Nikolskiy, S.P. Novikov, L.V. Ovsyannikov, V.P. Platonov, A.V. Pogorelov, Yu.V. Prokhorov, Yu.G. Reshetnyak, L.D. Faddeoz, S.K. Godunov, Yu.L. Yershov, L.D. Kudryavtsev, and D.K. Faddeyev.

Economic

11-Month Economic Indicators Point to Recession

PM0901095389 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 5 Jan 89 p 1

[I. Lavrovskiy commentary: "What Lies Behind the Figures; Economic Commentary on State Committee for Statistics Report on the First 11 Months of Last Year"]

[Text] You wait for reports from the State Committee for Statistics on current economic results as if they were communiques from a theater of military operations. Everyone is concerned by one question: When will we see a decisive breakthrough? However, as M.S. Gorbachev stressed in his New Year address, "the results achieved so far cannot satisfy us."

Why are we talking about economic difficulties when the State Committee for Statistics assures us that in 1988 the economy developed at a higher rate than in 1987? After all, the 4.5 percent growth noted by statistical organs (based on the results of the 1st 11 months) is evidence of a healthy economy by any standards. Results like these are the dream of Western economists and politicians.

But the point, it seems, is that in all Western statistical reports the furious growth of "monetary" economic results is moderated by one little figure, known as a "deflator." This deflator takes into account the impact of price increases and leads to so-called **real** indicators of economic growth. Our own statistics still lack this important little detail. Consequently, if V. Selyunin is right, for example, when he estimated the total increase in prices in industry in 1988 to be approximately 6 percent (see SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, 1 January 1988), we should not be talking about 4 percent growth in industrial output, as announced by the State Committee for Statistics, but about a 2 percent **recession**. And no one could describe a recession as a healthy phenomenon. We will try to assess the situation in individual sectors of the economy.

Industrial enterprises under ministries working in conditions of full economic accountability achieved higher profit growth rates than enterprises under other ministries. It would be good, however, if statistics were to break down this profit into its sources. Then it would be

possible to establish what proportion of the profits is the result of reduced outlays, increased range and output, and improved quality and what proportion is due to "pure" price increases.

The level of fulfillment of contractual obligations is still low. This is influenced by the fact that the plan is still law but a contract, unfortunately, is not. Twenty-two percent of associations and enterprises breached contract discipline during the reporting period, while delivery pledges were met almost in full.

There are still problems with the state acceptance system. Eight percent of output, worth more than R1 billion, was not passed by state acceptance bodies at first submission.

The situation has stabilized in the fuel and energy sectors. They have all shown tangible above-plan increases. Almost 5 million tonnes for oil, 16 billion cubic meters for gas, and more than 17 million tonnes for coal.

In capital construction the situation, unfortunately, still shows no sign of improvement. Only 81 percent of the annual investment quota has been assimilated. The situation in the social and consumer sphere is particularly serious. Only 69 percent of the planned volume of housing has been commissioned. There has been an absolute drop of more than 3 million square meters in the volume of commissioned projects in comparison to the same period in 1987. Only 57 percent of the plan for the commissioning of preschool institutions, 45 percent of that for polyclinics, 40 percent of that for clubs and cultural centers, and 37 percent of that for hospitals have been commissioned. Only the number of schools commissioned has increased in comparison to last year. However, success in the reproduction of the country's productive potential is very greatly dependent on capital construction. And we must be soberly aware that the situation in this respect is critical.

The volume of retail trade grew by 7 percent in comparison to 1987. However, there are still serious deviations in some groups of goods which have highlighted planning shortcomings.

There were shortfalls of R2 billion in food deliveries and of R6 billion in deliveries of nonfood goods.

Just compare: The plan for deliveries of television sets was 97 percent fulfilled, including 98 percent fulfilled for color television sets (24 percent more were sold than in the 1st 11 months of 1987); the plan for radio receivers was 93 percent fulfilled and production of them declined. But there are no television sets on sale, while radios are readily available. As far as the plan and the report are concerned, everything is in order, but in real life...?

There are serious problems with food supplies. Purchases of virtually every basic type of vegetable have fallen in comparison to last year. There has been a particularly marked drop in purchases of potatoes (almost 25 percent). Growth in meat and butter production has fallen by 3 percent, in sausage products and cheeses by 4 percent, and in fish products by 7 percent. Only crop-growing output partially compensates for these losses. However, the future prospects of livestock raising are a source of concern—we have procured less coarse and succulent feed than in 1987.

Finally, the state of finances—that barometer of the economy. The agro-industrial sector has overdue debts amounting to more than R13 billion. This is more than the fuel and energy, machine-building, construction, chemical and timber, and metallurgical complexes taken together. Agriculture and everything associated with it is still the most unhealthy sector of our economy.

Cooperatives are gradually beginning to play an appreciable role in economic life. The number of people working in the new type of cooperatives has passed the 1 million mark and, in the 1st 11 months of last year, they sold goods worth R4 billion. The number of cooperatives has increased six-fold in 1 year and there are now 48,000 of them. This seems to be an impressive growth rate. But at the moment we are still trying to catch up with countries like Hungary, where in 1986 there were some 40,000 small independent organizations.

Let us be frank. Analysis of the statistics offers no grounds for excessive optimism. The old economic mechanism is no longer working but, basically, there is still no new mechanism in its place. In the Ministry of Light Industry, for example, one in four enterprises failed to meet contractual obligations. At the same time, the profits plan was 109 percent fulfilled with only 4.5 percent growth in output volumes. The reader is already familiar with the serious situation in the construction sphere, but contract organizations' profits in excess of the plan stand at more than R3 billion. Hence it is clear that poor work still does not mean a poor income. The sooner the direct link between work and end results is restored, the sooner we can expect real reports of victory from the "theater of military operations."

Minister on Suspension of Nuclear Power Projects

OW1101101989 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 9 Jan 89

[From "Science and Technology" Program]

[Text] The Soviet minister of nuclear power generation announced the suspension of six nuclear power station projects and construction plans. Does this mean a reexamination of nuclear power generation or the foregoing of the peaceful use of nuclear power in the national economy? Such questions are likely to emerge. Let us listen to what Nuclear Power Generation Minister Lukonin has to say on this issue:

[Begin recording] [Lukonin, speaking in Russian, fading into Japanese translation] An analysis of the short- and long-term balance of fuel energy in the Soviet Union shows that without the development of nuclear power generation, the needs of the Soviet national economy cannot be met. Therefore, we must maintain the idea of continuing with nuclear power generation in areas where this is economically efficient and indispensable.

[Unidentified announcer] How then do you explain the suspension of six nuclear power generation projects?

[Lukonin] To us, the tragic experience of Chernobyl was not in vain. We have arrived at important conclusions. New measures embodying scientific, technical, and management methods have been decided upon to raise the operational safety level of existing and new nuclear power stations. Regulations on the location and conditions of nuclear power plants have been tightened. The construction of nuclear power stations in earthquake-prone areas and other problematic localities has been halted.

[Announcer] Specifically, where are these localities?

[Lukonin] The following plans and construction projects for nuclear power plants in the Soviet Union have been suspended: Azerbaijan and the second phase of the project in Armenia, Georgia, the Minsk nuclear power station, the Odessa nuclear power generation and local heating system, and the Krasnoyarsk nuclear power plant. The first three have to do with seismic conditions, and the latter three are due to the revision of regulations on the location of nuclear power plants and local nuclear heating systems.

[Announcer] How many nuclear power plants are there in the Soviet Union?

[Lukonin] At present, there are 16 of them. The construction of nuclear reactors is in progress at 15 more sites.

[Announcer] What will be the effects on the economy of the suspension of six nuclear power projects previously included in the plans?

[Lukonin] There will be a loss of a total of 28 million kilowatts of electricity. It will take some time to look for new sites and draw up construction plans.

[Announcer] Please tell us your general view on nuclear power generation.

[Lukonin] Under normal conditions, the effects on the environment generated by nuclear power plants are even less than those caused by regular thermal power plants using organic fuel. Nuclear power plants do not exhaust carbon dioxide and neither do they need oxygen. Thus, we are in favor of safe nuclear power generation. Past experience in general and the events of the past few years show that wide-ranging international cooperation and concerted efforts of all countries are necessary and indispensable for effectively ensuring the safety of nuclear power generation. [end recording]

Problems, Changes Among Cooperatives Viewed

LD0601213089 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 6 January carries a 6-minute report by correspondent Semen Astakhov and an unidentified announcer on the changes in the service sector since a government resolution on radically restructuring the sector was published in August.

Semen Astakhov reports on what has changed, reminding listeners that all factories and organizations have been told to increase the emphasis on development and improvement of services. "Great hopes are pinned on creating a diversified network of cooperatives, on the development of individual labor activity, and on broad application of the principles of financial autonomy and self-financing. All unjustified limitations holding back initiative are to be eliminated," recalls Astakhov.

Astakhov notes that in the countryside, which was mentioned specifically in the Council of Ministers resolution, very little is being done. This is admitted by the USSR Gosagroprom, although, there are figures about increases in services during the 5-year plan period. "But I can tell you that work is not proceeding in an identical way in the republics," says Astakhov. "Take Estonia, Latvia, Kazakhstan, and the Russian Federation where services worth R60 or even R90 a year per worker are provided. But in Azerbaijan, services worth only R11 are provided.

"Kolkhozes and sovkhozes and other Agroprom enterprises are building and repairing houses, plowing subsidiary holdings, and are providing diverse transport services—over 100 types of paid services in all. But the state service sector, and I mean the Ministries of Municipal Economy and Consumer Services, the Ministries of Communications and other departments, are still devoting very little attention to rural inhabitants. In essence, they are only just getting down to accomplishing the most important task. Tailoring and clothing repair services; refigerator, radio, and television repairs have not been properly arranged. It is absurd and sad to hear of cases of rural inhabitants being obliged to buy two or three television sets at once so as to avoid problems with repairs later."

An unidentified announcer states that much controversy has been caused by the cooperatives that have skimmed off the best qualified people from the economy and that buy up scarce foodstuffs. "But let us remember the purpose for which the cooperatives were formed. They were to make up for a shortage in goods and services that state establishments were unable to give to the populations, says TASS correspondent Boris Lianov in a report prepared especially for us." But bureaucrats have erected a large number of impediments, and the main issues have not yet been resolved. "The cooperative movement

has engendered a new form of plunder: the racket. The press has today been telling about the burning down of a cooperative cafe where the workers refused to give in to the demands of extortionists, and about the threats against individual cooperative workers and physical violence against them. Yet excessively high prices constitute the most serious problem which is not allowing the new movement to win prestige," says the announcer.

"Price formation in this sphere was one of the matters that was discussed at the Politburo session on 5 January," notes the announcer. The State Price Committee is to increase its monitoring of prices, as are other bodies and societies. "The future of the cooperative movement will, I think, depend on how thoroughly and firmly that work is done," concludes the announcer.

Agricultural

Ligachev Activities in Ryazan Oblast Reported

PM1001112789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Food Supply Is the Immediate Task"]

[Text] How can we boost the efficiency of the agro-industrial complex? How can we improve the population's food supply? These were the main questions examined during the 2-5 January stay in Ryazan Oblast of Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Meetings in labor collectives and conversations with urban and rural residents showed once again that working people in many respects judge the progress of restructuring and the renewal of our society by how the food question is being resolved.

Changes for the better have emerged in the development of Ryazan Oblast's agro-industrial complex. Per capita milk and meat consumption is rising and the annual milk yield per cow approaches 3,000 kg. During numerous conversations the people of Ryazan Oblast noted with satisfaction that the food supply is improving markedly.

Addressing the party aktiv, Ye.K. Ligachev noted that still there has been no radical breakthrough in food supplies to the oblast's population. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes still have not been able to ensure high and stable growth rates for agricultural production, especially in crop-farming. In particular, in the last few years the people of Ryazan Oblast have not fulfilled the plans for the sale of potatoes to the state, and vegetable production has fallen. In this connection it was noted that it is necessary to switch to implementing a whole series of measures to enhance the fertility of the land and assimilate more broadly intensive technologies for cultivating grain, vegetables, potatoes, and feed crops.

It is very important to get to work strengthening the feed base, above all to improve feed quality by improving the structure of the feed area and using progressive methods of feed procurement and storage. The further specialization and optimum concentration of agricultural production must play an important role in the system of measures to boost its efficiency.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed the need to change the attitude of soviet organs and economic leaders to the development of subsidiary farms belonging to rural citizens, and also to industrial enterprises and organizations. Only one in five families in Ryazan Oblast's villages keeps a cow. In the last few years the numbers of livestock and poultry on personal plots has fallen substantially and less milk has begun to be obtained.

While stepping up production of crop farming and livestock raising output, the processing industry should be tackled more vigorously. This side of affairs is still underestimated. The oblast failed to fulfill the plans for the 1st 3 years of the 5-year plan for commissioning meat combines, dairy plants, and other facilities. The party obkom, oblispolkom, and economic organs were sharply criticized for this. Exceptionally vigorous efforts are needed on the part of the oblast party organization to ensure the planned commissioning of food industry projects. While developing the processing base, fuller utilization of the oblast's existing production capacities should be ensured. Party organizations must head labor collectives' work to master waste-free technologies, improve the processing of agricultural raw materials, reduce losses, and thus bring additional resources into food stocks.

Ye.K. Ligachev devoted great attention to questions of improving production relations in rural areas and throughout the agro-industrial complex system. Mastering economic methods of management, switching to complete economic accountability [khozraschet], and organizing production on the basis of the contract, cooperative, and lease principles, he said, are some of the most important areas in the work of the oblast party organization. Being the political nucleus of labor collectives, primary party organizations are called upon to take the initiative and take their share of responsibility for the implementation of economic reform.

Creating the best living conditions in rural areas and intensifying the social thrust of investment policy should hold a central place in the activity of soviet and economic organs. In the last 7 years rural inhabitants have failed to receive more than 2,000 apartments and, moreover, the level of amenities in the housing commissioned in the countryside is several times lower than in the cities. The profound lag in rural working people's living and working conditions substantially hampers the resolution of food tasks.

The obkom and party committees at local level must persistently improve organizational and political work in the new conditions, strengthen every Communist's discipline and responsibility for his assigned task, and boost his vanguard role in restructuring.

Ye.K. Ligachev visited the "Avangard" Kolkhoz, the "Moskovskiy" Sovkhoz, and a sovkhoz-tekhnikum, where problems of farms' activity in the new economic conditions and of training specialists capable of acting in a modern fashion, including competent leaseholders, were discussed. The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited the Ryazan Dairy Combine, the kolkhoz market, food stores, worker cafeterias, and a kindergarten. A conversation took place at the "Ryazselmash" Association with engineering and technical personnel, workers, and leaders and the need was noted to ensure the reliability, economy, and competitiveness of Soviet potato and vegetable harvesting equipment.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited Konstantinovo village—the birthplace of the wonderful Soviet poet S. Yesenin—and looked around the Kremlin in Ryazan and the city's historical and cultural monuments. A meeting took place at the party obkom with journalists from the central and local mass media.

Ye.K. Ligachev laid flowers on the monument to V.I. Lenin in the oblast center.

Ye.K. Ligachev was accompanied on his trips by L.I. Khitrun, first secretary of Ryazan party obkom, and L.P. Bashmakhov, chairman of the oblispolkom.

14 Jan Government Debate on Vegetables Previewed

PM1101110189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by E. Gonzalyez: "On Government's Agenda"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers intends to discuss two questions at the end of the week. Only this will not happen on Friday, as the newspapers have reported, but on Saturday 14 January.

It is obviously not worth mentioning the country's socioeconomic development in 1988 and for the first 3 years of the 5-year plan before the discussion. After all, this is such a complex, multifaceted, and contradictory process that without the statistics and analysis we ordinary citizens cannot assess the advances and changes that have taken place in the economy over the year.

The second question is another matter: measures to provide the population with fruit and vegetable produce. Here everyone can see the results on his table and indeed in the past 2 weeks the press has been reducing the "vegetable conveyor" to its components. It has emerged that, first, we produce only a small quantity of potatoes, vegetables, and fruit and that, second, we are unable to store and bring to the consumer even what we do cultivate.

Look what happens. For the sake of the plan, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes are not averse to dispatching to the bases what is called "substandard produce." The vegetable bases and storehouses accept this spoiled output and waste—again, for the sake of the plan. And what appears on the shelves everyone can see for themselves.

Of course, this is an extreme manifestation of the existing system for producing, storing, and selling fruit and vegetable produce. But since it is a case of approximately one-tenth of the volume produced, you cannot call this phenomenon accidental. We must also consider the rising trend in recent years to add on vegetables which, although they appear to be of perfectly good quality, cannot last even a week because of their excessive nitrate content.

In brief, it is obvious that the system targeted to the plan, and not to the consumer, is successful in providing citizens with work at the fields and bases but not in providing them with vegetables. It is gratifying that in the production sphere this system is now changing radically—leasing is entering rural life. But will the new economic relations extend further along the "vegetable conveyor?" If they do not, then will the harvest increase we expect not bypass the consumer?

These are the difficult problems that form the background to a discussion of the question formulated in a mundane and simple way: "On measures to provide the population with fruit and vegetable produce." It is scarcely possible to overcome these problems by "conventional" measures—by reprimands and rebukes and the replacement of leaders. Even the transfer of individual organizations from one department to another, as the practice of recent years has shown, does not increase the quantity of vegetables and fruit. The kolkhoz markets have been handed over to consumer cooperatives, but to be honest little has changed since then. In Kiev fruit and vegetable trade has been subordinated to the agro-industrial committee, but, in the specialists' opinion, things have become not better, but worse.

The shrinkages and spillages are surrounded, as though encased in cotton padding, by the norms for "natural" loss, and the intermediaries between customer and producer successfully reduce harvests. They will obviously do so until they, too, are affected by economic responsibility, self financing, and economic accountability [khozraschet].

Scientific

Three Cosmos Satellites Launched 10 Jan

LD1101083489 Moscow TASS in English 0830 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—Three satellites in the Cosmos series, the Cosmos-1987, Cosmos-1988 and Cosmos-1989, were launched by the Proton booster rocket in the Soviet Union on Tuesday.

The Cosmos-1987 and Cosmos-1988 satellites are intended to test the components and equipment of a space navigation system being developed with a view to determining the positions of Soviet civil aviation planes, merchant vessels and fishing boats.

The principle purpose of the Cosmos-1989 satellite is to secure the reception of data to raise the accuracy of determination and prediction of the movement of spacecraft as well as for geodetic and geophysical research.

The satellites were put into an orbit close to a circular one with the following parameters:

Initial orbital period—11 hours, 15 minutes,

The distance from the earth's surface—19,140 kilometres,

Orbital inclination—65 degrees.

The onboard equipment is functioning normally.

'Mir' Flight Continues; Proceeding 'Normally'

LD1001141189 Moscow TASS in English 1312 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—TASS correspondent reporting from the Mission Control Centre:

Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Krikalev have now been working in near earth orbit for 45 days while flight Doctor Valeriy Polyakov has just completed his 134th day in space.

In accordance with the programme of astrophysical research the crew continues experiments to study celestial objects in the ultraviolet part of the spectrum. The aim of these experiments, carried out with the help of the Glazar telescope, is to obtain data on the short-wave radiation in the galaxy. On Tuesday the cosmonauts will take pictures of the Orion constellation.

After the calibration and adjustment of the Rozhen equipment on Monday the crew carried out a series of experiments designed to improve methods of studying various astrophysical objects.

Information on the sources of roentgen radiation continues to come from the Mir orbital complex. On January 9 the telescope of the Kvant module was used for a series of observations of roentgen pulsars in the sails constellation and the smaller Magellanic cloud.

The cosmonauts are feeling well and the flight of the manned scientific and research complex Mir is proceeding normally.

TASS Reviews Cosmonauts' Year in Space

LD1101093289 Moscow TASS in English 0840 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov:

Soviet space veterans, Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, who on December 21 last year completed a 365-day mission, have nearly fully restored their weight, the volume of muscular tissue and vestibular functions, this correspondent was told by Anatoliy Grigoryev, director of the USSR Health Ministry Institute of Medical-Biological Problems.

He said that during the flight Vladimir Titov lost nearly three kilograms in weight, while Musa Manarov, on the contrary, gained nearly two kilograms. Jean-Loup Chretien, who spent 25 days in space before returning to earth with them, lost 900 grams.

Titov and Manarov developed partial muscular atrophy of the shins, which is a usual consequence of a long stay in zero-gravity. According to information obtained immediately after the landing, the volume of the cosmonauts' shins decreased by nearly 20 per cent—a little more than Yuriy Romanenko lost during his 326-day flight two years ago. However, this is not the highest figure because after several flights of less duration doctors observed a 25 per cent lessening of the volume of shin muscles. This was largely due to the loss of intramuscular fluid and not of muscular tissue. This also explains the rapid rehabilitation.

Grigoryev said data on the state of bone tissues of the cosmonauts was still being processed. But preliminary results show that the lessening of calcium was not as significant as after several previous missions. Immediately after their touch-down, Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov suffered from the minor changes of vestibular functions, which passed quickly, and from traditional changes in the water-and-salt metabolism which showed in 5-6 per cent reduction of the content of potassium in the blood.

Soviet specialists have worked out a whole programme of rehabilitation measures which includes jogging, swimming and exercising with a variety of equipment. Grigoryev said that, from the fifth day after landing, Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov walked three to four kilometers and swam 400-500 meters in the swimming pool. At this time they started intensive training of the muscles of the back, shin and thighs, for around one hour every day.

In mid-January Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov will go to Kislovodsk to rest, where alongside walking, swimming and physical exercises they will play games and take mountain walks. They should completely restore their pre-flight physical form on the 60th-70th day after the landing, by the end of February.

"After this we will again study in detail the state of bone tissue and the metabolism," Anatoliy Grigoryev said. "Medical control will also be exercised after this for a long time. We must be completely convinced that no unfavorable consequences were left by such a long flight."

***An-225 'Mriya' Prepares for First Flight**
WA18290053 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 21 Dec 88 p 6

[Article by T. Kuznetsova: "'Mriya' Finds Its Wings"; first paragraph is SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA introduction]

[Text] The new superheavy wide-body transport plane, largest in the world, developed at the O.K. Antonov OKB [experimental design bureau], is preparing for its first flight.

At the end of November the winged giant taxied out onto the concrete from the assembly hangar for the first time. Since then, preflight preparation has begun; for almost a month, the crew, headed by A. Galunenko, test pilot 1st class, has been rolling the innovative craft along the runway, familiarizing itself with its nature and behavior, revving up the engines, checking the taxiing, the bounce and the approaches and making the final adjustments to the piloting elements. The start is near.

The An-225 is similar to the titan Ruslan. It has giant dimensions and severe lines, yet it looks more elegant and graceful, lighter and swifter. As compared to the An-124, its fuselage is eight meters longer, it has a vertical twin-fin tail assembly and it is easy to notice other exterior differences: instead of four, there are six turbojet engines.

When the world saw the Ruslan in 1985, it seemed to be everything—the limit of possibilities, the ceiling of flying equipment. But here is the new An, even stronger. Just imagine: a wing span of 88 M, a body 84 M long. It takes a hectare to park this airplane. It can barely fit on a soccer field, and it is as thick at the base as a modern apartment is high. The new air ship has a tremendous maximum take-off mass—600 tons—the highest lift-drag ratio in the world. At the same time, the cost per ton-kilometer for cargo transport is 30 percent less than for the Ruslan.

"How do you explain this?" I ask the chief designer.

"Our OKB has been working on the development of giant airplanes," says P. Balabuyev, the chief designer. "The origination of each of them was dictated by the urgent need of the national economy. In the 1960s, we designed the An-22, the Antey, which became, as is known, the first wide-bodied airplane in the world. It did a great deal of work with oilmen in Siberia, geologists in the North and other firstcomers to undeveloped regions, not easily accessible. When the time came, it handed over its baton to the Ruslan, more powerful, faster and more modern. The growth of cargo volumes, the ever-increasing predominance among them of large and non-standard items, required the creation of a new air ship. This plane was the An-225, the Mriya (Mechta)."

"What are the special features of the new An and for what is it designed?"

"Like the Ruslan, to deliver heavy cargoes over long distances. The An-225 will take 250 tons and fly it at a speed of 700-850 kilometers an hour. Some 16 containers, up to 80 Zhigul motor vehicles, modules and aerospace equipment units, assemblies and various units can be fitted into the cargo cabin. The An is capable of transporting cargo for a distance of 45,000 kilometers. Its features are high-quality, incomparable. All the same, the main merit of the air colossus does not lie in this. The An-225 can transport cargo not only inside the body, but also outside, on the exterior pod. It can be said that this is a special feature. Not long ago, large assemblies of the Energiya booster rocket, as well as the frame of the multiple-use Buran orbital craft, were delivered to Baykonur by just such a non-traditional method. Their dimensions and weight give way before the capacity of the Mriya. The "back" of the plane can also carry drilling rigs, fractionating columns up to 10 meters in diameter and up to 70 meters long, pipes, pumping plants for oil and gas pipelines and other cargoes, the dimensions of which exceed the possibilities of existing ground, water and air transport means.

"Something very important and not within the power of other aircraft—delivering huge equipment—the new air giant is maximally ready to do. This reduces the periods for launching, increases reliability and, in remote regions with severe climate conditions, does away with the need to retain specialists and equipment for assembly-adjustment work."

"The design work for the An-225 was begun in 1985, and today it is already learning to fly. How were such rapid rates possible?"

"Above all, it is a matter of continuity. The new airplane utilizes the scientific-technical potential in aerodynamics, materials science and equipment, as well as the results of tests and operation obtained on the Ruslan. The experience in unique operation, which had already been successfully gained for several years in the Antey, by transferring the wings of the Ruslan to its fuselage, helped a great deal. The principles of positioning and securing cargoes on an exterior pod and methods of ensuring the safety, reliability and operational and technological feasibility of the structure were worked out on this flying complex. The deadlines were considerably accelerated and wide use was made of the automated planning system. Many parts were not only calculated, but also laid out by machines."

"With all this, there were no difficulties?"

"There always are, when something new is produced. For example, it was necessary to work out a strong configuration for the fuselage, capable of withstanding, at certain spots, a load of several hundred tons. An original network of all-purpose transport assemblies was devised to secure the cargoes. A two-finned vertical tail assembly was made, for stability en route. Systems were worked out which, if an unforeseen situation occurs during flight, make it possible to sustain a given pressure and temperature in certain finished items. Problems of weight and strength were solved by means of new aluminum alloys, high-strength steels and composition materials. Unique monolithic semimanufactures and other new achievements in domestic science and technology were widely used.

"It is not within the scope of a single design bureau to create a modern airplane, especially such a unique flying complex as the An-225 with cargo on its 'back.' We obtained the wing from Tashkent, from Zaporozhe the engines, designed by V. Lotarev (incidentally, their total power equals the power of the average electric power plant), the Kiev Aircraft Production Association made the tail assembly, Gorkiy—the landing gear....

"The Mriya is not only a new step in the development of domestic aircraft construction. It substantially expands the possibilities of air transport and creates new prospects for the development of cooperation, regardless of the geographical position of the enterprises participating in it."